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T H E  
HISTORY  
O F  
SCOTLAND;

From 21 *February*, 1436. to *March*, 1565.

In which are contained

Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether differing from our other Historians ; and many Facts are related, either concealed by some, or omitted by others.

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By ROBERT LINDESAY of *Pitscottie*.

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*Done from the most authentick and most correct Manuscripts.*

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To which is added

A CONTINUATION, by another Hand,  
till *August* 1604.

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E D I N B U R G H,

Printed by Mr. BASKETT and COMPANY, His Majesty's Printers, and sold at Mr. Freebairn's Shop in the *Parliament-Clofs*; and at London by Andrew Millar Bookfeller, at his Shop over against *St. Clement's Church* in *The Strand*. MDCCXXVIII.







T O

The Right Honourable,

**JOHN LINDESAY**

*Earl of CRAWFORD and LINDESAY,  
Lord Lindefay of GLENESK, and  
Lord Lindefay of THE BYRES, &c.*

MY LORD,



S your Ancestors make a very considerable Figure in the Histories of their Country, from the earliest Periods that noble Families are distinguished from one another by hereditary Surnames, and that several of them have had a great Share in those publick Transactions which are the Subject of the following History ; I thought I could not, in Justice to the Memory of my Author, who had the Honour to be a Cadet of your Family, address his Work so properly to any Patron as to his own Chief.

I shall

I shall not here take the Liberty to give any Account of the Conduct of your Lordship's Forefathers, lest the Relation, tho' made in the most impartial Manner, should have too much the Appearance of Panegyrick; a Subject ever ungrateful to real Worth, and shocking to a modest Ear. I shall only beg Leave, for the Satisfaction of those who read our *Scottish* History, to give a short Account of the Rise of those two chief Branches of the Family of LINDESAY, viz. The Earls of CRAWFORD, and Lords LINDESAY of THE BYRES, without taking any Notice of the original Source of the Family, or of tracing it further back, than to the Person of *James* Lord *Lindesay* of CRAWFORD, who was the Father and Founder of those two noble Families; both which are now represented in your Lordship.

THE Lord *James* was the eldest Son and Heir of Lord *James Lindesay* of CRAWFORD, who was one of the small Number of those Barons, that were determined to risk their Lives and Fortunes for the Honour of their Country, and so prefer a Life of Toil and Hazard, to inglorious Ease, and unmanly Quiet, rather than to submit to that dishonourable Surrendry of the Independency of the Crown to *Edward* I.

THIS Gentleman, with his Brother *Robert Lindesay*, and Cousin *Roger Lindesay* (who is said to have been the Founder of the Family of *Dunroddis*) were amongst the first that joyned and confederated themselves with that matchless Hero, and Miracle of human Nature, *St. William Wallace*, who was a younger Son of *Wallace* of *Ellerslee*, by the Heiress of *Lindesay* of *Craigie* (another considerable Branch of your Family) whose Arms are still carried in the Achievements of the *Wallaces* of *Craigie*, who have been ever since possessors of the Estate.

DURING the Course of these Wars, those Gentlemen, with a great many of their Kindred and Followers, lost



lost their Lives, which they had generously spent, in Hazards, Toyl, and constant Alarms, in the glorious Cause of Liberty : And Lord *James*, of whom I speak, who was the eldest Son of Lord *James* that was killed with *Wallace*, and the Heir of the Family, continued to tread in those rugged Paths of Virtue, which his Forefathers had, by so many Examples, pointed out to him. He was eminently remarkable for all their Virtues, especially for those valuable Qualities of Resolution, Steadiness and Integrity, peculiar to his Family. He was the first Man of Quality, who, by previous Concert, met King *Robert I.* on his Arrival in *Anandale*, when that Prince was determined to take on him the Government of his Country, and so assert its Freedom and Independency. He adhered steadily to the Interests of his Country, under the incomparable Administration of this magnanimous Prince. He was with him in every Action, and had more than an ordinary Share of every Hazard and Fatigue, until he was killed at *Stirling-Bridge*, fighting at the Head of a Body of Troops that were commanded by that celebrated Captain, *Thomas Randal* Earl of *Murray*, the King's Nephew.

THIS Lord *James* left behind him three Sons ; *David* the eldest, who succeeded him in his Honours and Estate ; *Alexander* Lord *Lindesay* of *Glenesk* the Second, who married *Katharine Stirling* Heiress of *Glenesk* ; and *William* Lord *Lindesay* of *The Byres* the third Son, who married *Euphame Moor*, the only Daughter and Heiress of Sir *William Moor* of *Abercorn*, by whom he got the Lordship of *Abercorn*, and the Estate of *Dean* that was annexed to it.

*David*, the eldest Son, was killed in the Battle at *Bannockburn*, and left behind him only one Son, *David*, who succeeded him in his Honours and Estate.

*Alexander* Lord of *Glenesk*, the second Son, was, in the Minority of King *David Bruce*, with several Hun-  
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dreds of his Followers, and fourscore Gentlemen of his Name, killed in the Battle at *Dupline*. And *William* Lord of *The Byres*, the third Son, and his Nephew Lord *David* \* of CRAWFORD, were both killed in the Battle at *Halidonhill*.

LORD *David* of CRAWFORD, dying without male Issue of his own Body, was succeeded by his Cousin-german, *David* Lord *Lindesay* of *Glenesk*, the eldest Son of Lord *Alexander* who was killed at *Dupline*, not only in his Honours and paternal Estate, but likewise in all those extensive Acquisitions, which had been granted to the Family upon the Forfeiture of the great *John Cuming* of *Badenach*, whom his Grandfather, Lord *James*, killed in the Church of *Dumfries*, viz. The Lordship of *Badenach*, *Lochaber*, *Stradown*, or *Strathown*, *Glenlevit*, and *Brae* of *Murray*.

FROM this Period, the male Descendants of these two Brothers, Lord *Alexander* of *Glenesk*, and Lord *William* of *The Byres*, continued in two distinct Families; the first, under the Title of Earls of CRAWFORD, and the other by the Title of Lords *Lindesay* of *The Byres*; until the Reign of King *Charles* I. when they were again united in the Person of your Lordships Great Grandfather, *John* Earl of *Lindesay*, in this Manner.

*David Lindesay*, Earl of CRAWFORD, did, in the Minority of King *James* VI. enter into a Contract of Tailie with *Robert* Lord *Lindesay* of *The Byres*, your Lordships Great Grandfather's Father, whereby they mutually provided their several Dignities and Estates to each other, upon the Failure of their nearer male Issue, respectively.

THIS

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\* There is a Charter granted by *David Dominus Lindesay de CRAWFORD*, designted *Filius Davidis filii quondam Jacobi*, of the Lands of *Gilmertoun* in *East-Lothian*, in favours of *William* Lord *Lindesay* of *THE BYRES*, his Uncle, and the lawful Heirs male of his Body; and failing of them to *Alexander* Lord *Lindesay* of *GLENESK*, his other Uncle, and the lawful Heirs male of his Body; and failing of both, to return to the Granter, and to his Heirs male whatsoever.

THIS Earl *David* was succeeded by his eldest Son *David*, who, dying without lawful Heirs male of his own Body, was succeeded by his Brother Sir *Hary Lindefay* of *Carreston*, and he was succeeded by his only Son Earl *Ludovick*, who entred into a second Contract of Tailie with *John* Earl of *Lindesay*, your Great Grandfather, who was the eldest Son of Lord *Robert* the first Contracter. By this second Deed of Entail, all the Articles, Conditions and Provisions, upon the several Events mentioned in the first Tailie, were ratified, and of new stipulated and confirmed; and, in consequence of it, a Resignation was made in the Hands of the Crown, which was accepted of, and the Deed was confirmed by the King, and afterwards ratified by an Act of Parliament.

AFTER the Death of Earl *Ludovick*, who was killed in the Wars of *Germany*, unmarried, and of *Alexander* Lord *Lindesay* of *Spinzie*, his nearest Heir male, who likewise died without male Issue, *John* Earl of *Lindesay* succeeded to the Earldom of CRAWFORD, and Lordship of GLENESK, &c.

HAVING thus, for the Satisfaction of my Readers of the following History, taken the Freedom with your Lordship to give this short Account of the Succession of the Lordship and Earldom of CRAWFORD, upon the Failure of the male Issue of Lord *David*, who was the eldest Son of Lord *James* who was killed upon *Stirling*-Bridge, to the male Issue of Lord *Alexander* of GLENESK, his second Son; and thereafter, upon the like Event, to the male Issue of Lord *William* of THE BYRES, his third Son, in whom the Dignities of all the three Brothers are now represented by your Lordship: I hope I shall be excused, if I likewise take the Liberty to observe to your Lordship, That altho' Nobility, by Birth, and a Descent from a long and numerous Race of illustrious Men, is attended with many Advantages, that, nevertheless, *Virtus est sola & unica Nobilitas*.

PERSONAL

PERSONAL Worth is, without Doubt, the best Title to Nobility ; and the surest Mark of the genuine Issue of a noble Family is, when the Heir of it inherits the Virtues, as well as the Honours, Name and Titles of the Family ; and that the same good Qualities, the same active Genius and virtuous Disposition, the same Abilities for Counsel and Action both in Body and Mind, and the same Mildness of Temper and Humanity, that were remarkable enough in the Fathers to raise them to the Dignity of Nobility, are no less so in the Son who inherits it. Every such Person is an Ornament to a noble Family, who, by adding of fresh Lustre to it, very much heightens and increases its Reputation, and endears it to his Country, by adding to the Number of those Worthies of his Family, who have deserved well of their Country.

*Est in juvencis,  
Est in equis, patrum virtus ;  
Nec imbellem feroces  
Progenerent aquila columbam.*

HOR. on this Subject.

A noble Descent is certainly a great Spur to Virtue, and rarely fails to beget, in a generous Breast, a noble Emulation to equal the great Deeds of those, to whose Merit one owes his Nobility : But should the Representative of a noble Family bury those great and good Qualities in Sloth and Luxury, that ought to be employed in the publick Service ; or should he, by remarkable Weakness and Insufficiency, or by a depraved Disposition to Vice or Folly, give the World just Ground to suspect him as spurious, so unworthy a Conduct would, most certainly, forfeit in him all that Reputation, Honour and Esteem, in the Opinion of Mankind, which his Fathers had acquired ; and that voluntary Tribute of Praise, Good-Will, Reverence and Respect, would be no longer paid him, than the Cause subsisted which at first procured it. To such may be justly objected, that Expression in the  
Decla-



Declamation said to have been made by *Cicero* against *Salust*, *Tu tuis vita tua quam turpiter egisti, magnas offudisti tenebras.*

MY LORD,

THOSE natural Endowments, which qualify a Person for great and laudable Undertakings, and make one useful and agreeable to Society, were so early apparent in your Lordship, that none, who knew you, doubted of your becoming every Way equal, and worthy to represent so many Men of Worth. You have likewise adorned those great and good Qualities, which you seem to inherit by Generation from them, with all the acquired Accomplishments that are proper for one of your Rank; and have already, on every proper Occasion, sufficiently vouched this to the World: But these Instances I forbear to mention, or to take any Notice of the Opinion which those, who are honoured with an intimate and particular Acquaintance with you, entertain of you, lest I should offend your Modesty. But I may adventure to say, That, as you are now entring upon the Scene of Action in Life, if you continue to follow the Example of your Ancestors, and to improve and imploy your natural Talents, as they did, your Country cannot be disappointed of the great and favourable Hopes which they have conceived of you.

YOUR Fathers, My Lord, by their great and signal Services to their Country, became the eminent and remarkable Objects of publick Favour. By these honourable Means did they, many Ages ago, acquire great and extensive Possessions, both of Wealth and Power, and arrive at the highest Pitch of Dignity, and Titles of Honour then known in *Europe*. They have since, by the Calamities of Civil War, at the Time of the Reformation, and in the Reigns of King *Charles* I. and II. wasted those Estates and extensive Vassalages, in the very same Way, and by the very same Means, by which they were acquired, in the Defence of publick Liberty: But if your Lordship steadily  
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## X      *The DEDICATION.*

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pursue the same noble Ends, and follow the same virtuous and laudable Courses with them, so as to deserve as well of the publick as they have have done, Events may happen to give you an Opportunity to regain, by fair and honourable Means, what they have so honourably lost. Then shall your Country have the Satisfaction to see your Family restored to its ancient Lustre, and to the same flourishing State and Condition in which it continued for so many Ages.

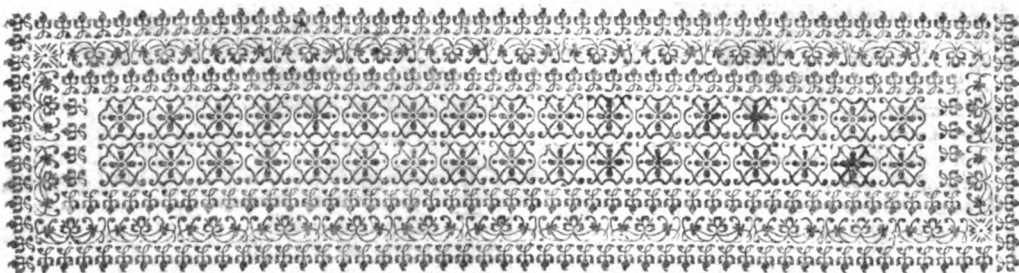
FOR my own Part, My Lord, I beg Leave to assure your Lordship, that nothing could give me greater Joy, than to share with your Friends, the Pleasure of seeing your Lordship make as great a Figure in the World, as any of your Predecessors have done ; of whom so many have been justly ranked in that high Class of Hero's, who are, with Truth, said to be ( in Subordination to the Regal Power ) the Guardians of their Country, and Protectors of its Liberties. I am,

*My Lord,*

*Your Lordship's most obedient,*

*and most humble Servant,*

**ROBERT FREEBAIRN.**



A

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*Roystoun*, Baronet, One of the Senators of  
 the College of Justice,  
 The Honourable *Archibald M'Auley* Esq; present  
 Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *Andrew Marjoribanks* Merchant in *Edinburgh*,  
*Andrew Massy* Esq;  
 Mr. *Alexander Mackenzie* younger of *Delvin*, One  
 of the principal Clerks of the Session,  
 Mr. *Alexander Mackenzie* Minister of the Gospel at  
*Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *Kenneth Mackenzie* Advocate,  
 Mr. *Kenneth Mackenzie* Apothecary in *Elgin*,  
*Simon Mackenzie* of *Scotsburn*,  
*William Mackenzie* of *Belmadathie*,  
*Alexander M'Kye* of *Palgovan*,  
*Donald Macdonald* of *Kingsburgh*,  
 Mr. *Daniel M'Intyre* Merchant in *Inverness*,  
 Mr. *James M'Ewen* Bookseller in *Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *John Macfarlane* Writer to the Signet,  
 Mr. *Duncan Macpherson*,  
*Alexander Meikison* of *Hill*,  
 The Honourable *Robert Mercer* of *Aldie*, Esq;  
 Mr. *John Mercer* Writer in *Perth*,  
 Mr. *Robert Mercer* Town-Clerk of *Selkirk*,  
*John Melvil* of *Cairnie*,  
*Charles Mitchel* of *Urland*,  
 Mr. *David Mitchel* Goldsmith in *Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *John Mitchel* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *William Montgomery*,  
 Mr. *David Morison* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
 Mr. *Robert Mortimer* Merchant in *Edinburgh*,  
 Sir *Thomas Moncrief* of that Ilk, Baronet,  
 Mr. *Robert Muirhead* Merchant in *Hamilton*,  
*Anthony Murray* of *Dollarie*,  
 Mr. *Anthony Murray* Merchant in *Edinburgh*,  
*James Murray* of *Touchadam*,

John



*John Murray* One of the principal Clerks of the Session,  
*William Murray* younger of *Auchtertyre*,  
*Mr. William Murray* Deputy-Receiver of his Majesty's Customs,  
*Sir Patrick Murray* *Hepburn* of *Balmanno*,  
*Patrick Murray* of *Deuchar*,  
*Mr. Alexander Murray* Minister of the Episcopal Congregation at *Bamff*,  
*Mr. Peter Murdoch* Merchant in *Glasgow*,  
*Daniel Murchison* Factor to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Seaforth*,  
*James Muschet* of *Craighead*,  
*Mr. Walter Muschet* Merchant in *Edinburgh*.

N.

*Sir William Nairn* of *Dunsmann*, Baronet,  
*John Nairn* of *Greenyards*,  
*John Napier* of *Culcrueich*,  
*Mr. James Nimmo* Merchant in *Edinburgh*,  
*Nisbet* of *Dirletoun*.

O.

The Right Reverend *Mr. John Ochterlonie*,  
*Mr. John Ogilvie* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*John Oliphant* of *Carpow*.

P.

The Right Honourable my Lord *Pitligo*,  
*Edmund Pargiter* Esq;  
*Mr. Adam Panton* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*Mr. James Paterson* One of the Commissioners of *Edinburgh*,  
*John Paterson* of *Prestounhall*,  
*Mr. John Paton* Bookseller in *Edinburgh*,  
*Hugh Pearson* of *Kippenross*,  
*Sir Archibald Primrose* of *Dunmure*.

R.

The Honourable the Master of *Ross*,  
The Right Reverend *Mr. David Ranken*,  
The Right Reverend *Mr. James Ross*,  
*James Ramsay* younger of *Bamff*,  
*Mr. John Ramsay* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*Mr. David Randie* Bookseller in *Edinburgh*,  
*Mr. Patrick Rennie* Schoolmaster of *Montrose*,  
*Mr. George Reid* Master of the Grammar School of *Bamff*,  
*James Rider* Esq;  
*Robert Riddel* of *Glenriddel*,  
*John Riddel* of *Grange*,  
*George Rutherford* of *Farningtown*,  
*Mr. John Robertson* Writer in *Glasgow*,  
*Mr. John Robertson* Merchant in *Elgin*,

*Mr. Robert Ross* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
*Mr. William Roy* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
*Mr. Thomas Ruddiman* Underkeeper of the Advocates Library,  
*Alexander Russel* of *Montcasser*,  
*Mr. John Russel* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*Sir John Rutherford* of that Ilk, Baronet,

S.

The Right Honourable the Earl of *Strathmore*,  
The Right Honourable my Lord *Somervell*,  
The Honourable *David* Master of *Stormont*,  
*Scot* of *Wool*  
The Reverend *Mr. Robert Sandilands* One of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*,  
*Alexander Scot* of *Thirlestoun*, Doctor of Medicine,  
*John Scot* of *Ancrum*,  
*Mr. Charles Sinclair* younger of *Hermiston*, Advocate,  
*John Sinclair* of *Barrick*,  
*William St. Clair* of *Rosline*,  
Captain *Robert Seton* Judge-Advocate-General of his Majesty's Forces in *North Britain*,  
*David Smith* of *Metbuen*,  
*Robert Spruel* Merchant in *Glasgow*,  
*Mr. Archibald Stuart* Merchant in *Edinburgh*,  
*John Stuart* of *Inverneity*,  
*John Stuart* of *Burgh*,  
*Mr. John Stuart* Merchant in *Inverness*,  
*Sir George Stuart* of *Garmullie*,  
Colonel *John Stuart* Esq;  
*Patrick Stuart* Doctor of Medicine,  
*Mr. Robert Stuart* Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Edinburgh*,  
*James Steven* Usher to the Exchequer,  
*George Skene* of that Ilk,  
*Mr. James Shand* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*William Stirling* of *Northwoodside*, Esq;  
*Mr. George Stirling* Merchant in *Perth*,  
*Alexander Strachan* Doctor of Medicine.

T.

*James Thomson* of *Portlethen*,  
*Mr. John Thomson* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
*Mr. Alexander Tarras* Merchant in *Bamff*,  
*Mr. Thomas Tod* Town-Clerk in *Wusselburgh*.

U. W.

The Right Honourable *James* Earl of *Weemys*,  
*Udney* of that Ilk, Esq;  
*Mr. William Wood* of *Paisly*,  
*Mr. James Wright* Writer in *Edinburgh*,  
*Wauchope* of *Edmonstown*.



T O

The Most Reverend Father in GOD,

**ROBERT STUART**

Bishop of *Caithness*, and Commendatar of *St. Andrews* and Priory thereof.

**O** Little Book, pass thou with Diligence  
 To *St. Andrews* that fair City;  
 Salute that Lord with humble Reverence,  
 Beseeeking him of fatherly Pity,  
 With intire Heart and perfect Charity;  
 And that he would on noways offend  
 To look on thee one Day or two to spend:

AND there shew him thy Secrets more and less,  
 From the Beginning unto the End:  
 And also you to come utter and expresse  
 Show him the Verity, and make it to him kend,  
 The martial Deeds, and also the fatal End  
 Of his noble dainty Progenitor,  
 In *Scotland* lived sometime in great Honour.

SHOW him the great Conspiracy  
 That hath been in this Realm of old;  
 And also the wicked Tyranny  
 Of false Traitors that were both stout and bold,  
 That to their Princes would neither obey nor fold;  
 Nor never would an Ear unto the Commonweal,  
 But ever in ways running headlong to the Devil.

SHOW him here the five Kings of the *Stuarts*,  
 How long they ragn in this Region,  
 And what at last was their Reward.  
 I pray thee shew him and make Mention  
 What Trouble, what Cumber and what Diffension  
 Fell in this Country by Lords three,  
 Daily striving for the Authority.

WHEN *James* the Second, that potent Prince, was young,  
 There was none so good to have the Authority,

As was Sir *Alexander Livingston*,  
 Of good Wit and recent Memory :  
 Therefore the Council thought him most worthy  
 To have in *Scotland* the Government,  
 Whereat the *Douglas* and *Crichton* were not content,

WHILK in this Realm made great Diversity,  
 As afterward this Book will show you plain ;  
 For there was never perfect Stability,  
 Whill that the *Douglas* was perished, dead and gone.  
 Then the *Crichton* ruled all alone ;  
 Yet in this Realm was much Misery,  
 While that the King received his own Authority.

DECLARE you him, and utter and express  
 How the Earl of *Crawford* made a Band  
 With *William* the great Earl of *Douglas*.  
 Thir two Lords oppressed all the Land.  
 But frae Time the King did understand,  
 Caused bring this Earl to *Stirling* quietly,  
 Who in the Castle was murdered cruelly.

SYNE after this the King did live in Rest,  
 And brought his Realm to great Tranquillity,  
 And the Poor they were no more oppressed,  
 For they had Justice but Partiality,  
 Which caused them to live in Unity :  
 And frae Time these great Men were thus corrected,  
 To ways this Realm was no more subjected.

BUT ever, alas ! this Roy of great Renown,  
 When he had brought his Realm to great Stability,  
*East, West, South, North*, up and down.  
 There was nothing but Peace and Unity ;  
 Yet came there a Chance most suddenly.  
 This potent Prince, this Roy of great Renown,  
 Was murdered by a misfortunate Gun.

SHOW him that how King *James* the Third,  
 A Prince of great Facility,  
 After that his Father was gone and dead,  
 Was delivered to Bishop *James Kennedy*,  
 And that by Advice of the whole Nobility,  
 To learn Letters, and make him able at all  
 To guide his Royal Seat Imperial.

TO whom this noble Bishop did his Cure,  
 To bring this noble Prince to Virtue and Science :  
 But ever, alas ! he did not long endure,  
 As this Book doth show the Circumstance :  
 For soon there fell a great Variance,

By

By a new Courtier that ruled so the Rudder,  
That caused the King to discord with his Brother.

THIS Courtier, to wit, was called *Cochran*,  
Who ruled King and Court then as he pleased;  
For there was never Lord, Earl, nor great Man,  
That Time in the Court, might be eased,  
He held the potent Prince so inclosed,  
That he gart have at his Brether such mortal Fead,  
That he slew the Duke, and put the Earl to Dead.

NOTWITHSTANDING this *Cochran*, with his Company,  
Within short Time, got their Wareson,  
On *Lawder*-Bridge were hanged shamefully.  
Their King was taken and put in Subjection,  
And on his Servants was made Correction,  
And that by the whole Council of the Nobility :  
But hastily there arose a great Conspiracy,

THAT this noble King was piteously put down  
At *Bannockburn*, as you shall hear tell,  
By the crooked *Hume* and the glyed *Hepburn*,  
Who against the King did all rebel.  
Sync afterward how it befel,  
How *James* the Fourth, that most prudent King,  
In *Scotland* received the whole Governing,

AND guided the same in Welfare and Peace  
Many a Day, as after you shall hear ;  
Whill, at the last, *Floudoun*-Field, alas !  
Dewarred him with his Nobles in Fear,  
All his true Lords and he were brought in Beir  
By his own wilful Misgovernance,  
And Love he bare to the Realm of *France*.

THEN *James* the Fifth, being of tender Age,  
There ragn into this Realm great Misery :  
But new Rulers ruling in a Rage,  
Daily striving for the Authority,  
Some Time the Queen, some Time the Duke of *Albany*.  
Sync start up a presumptuous Man among us,  
Who was called *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*.

THEN the King took his own Authority,  
And ruled his Realm as he thought expedient,  
Living in Pleasure and great Felicity,  
But daily his Body he did mispend ;  
Whereof his Lords were noways content,  
Alledging his Whoredom and Harlotry  
Would bring him soon to Death and Misery.

WHICH

WHICH was, at last, as clearly you may see,  
As in this Book maketh Mention ;  
And also of the woful Misery,  
And cruel Fead and Diffension  
That fell hastily into this Region,  
By *England*, through breaking of the Peace,  
Whilk gart *Scotland* oftymes say, Alas !

FOR the great Blood was shed at *Pinkie* Field  
By the Governor his wilful Misgovernance,  
Where many Nobles were slain with Spear and Shield,  
By Pride, and by their own Negligence,  
And not by the Virtue of the *English* Ordnance ;  
But, by the Governor's intoxicate Counsel,  
Thir Noblemen in Field were perish'd all.

THEN show you him how Queen Regent  
Reft from the Duke the Authority ;  
Whereof many of *Scotland* were not content,  
Knowing of Women the Faculty,  
That they are not constant in their Quality :  
Therefore they are not able to rule a Region,  
Nor of a Country to have Dominion.

THEN, last of all, show him, by Enarration,  
All Things done since the fifty eight Year ;  
And specially the Reformation,  
And every Thing show him in Order clear,  
Beseeeking him patiently thee to hear :  
And where he finds in thee false Enarration,  
Beseeeking his Lordship on thee to make Correction.

WHEN he hath done, fast thy Voyage bend  
To *Arbole* that most high Country,  
And to that Lord heartily you commend,  
Salute his Lordship with all Humility,  
Beseeeking him of his Benignity,  
That of thy Fame nothing as yet be sprung  
Into the Country, while that the King is young ;

BECAUSE thou mells with the Authority,  
At this Time who has it now in Hand :  
And also declares of that Clan the Verity :  
Therefore I would they did not understand  
That thou hast ta'en such high Matters in Hand.  
To this good Lord give thy whole Credence,  
When he thinks Time thy Matter to advance.

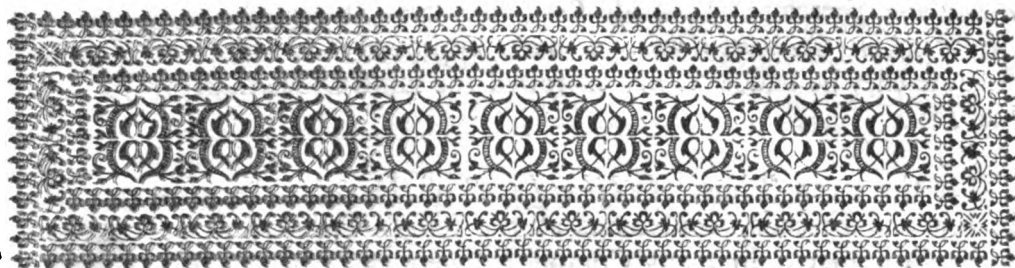


THE  
AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT  
OF THIS  
HISTORY.

**H**ERE beginneth the History and Chronicles of *Scotland*, which was left unwritten by the last Translators, *to wit*, Mr. *Hector Boes* and Mr. *John Ballantyne*, who ended their Chronicle at the Slaughter of King *James I.* which was, from our Redemption, One thousand four hundred and thirty six Years, the twenty first Day of *February*: Therefore we follow henceforth in Order, beginning at King *James II.* so briefly succeeding all the Kings, Queens, Governors and Regents that hath been since the Day foresaid, unto this Day and Date hereafter following. And furthermore, have sought, gathered and collected all the notable Acts done by these foresaid Princes in their Time: And all Troubles and Enormities of Conspirations fallen, in like Manner, in their Days, are comprehended in this Volume; and specially the Manner of the Reformation of the Religion, and what was done therein since the fifty and eighth Year, until the threescore and fifteen Years, sought, gathered, written and collected by me *Robert Lindesay* of *Pitscottie*, instructed and learned, and lately informed by thir Authors, as after follows; *to wit*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindesay* of *The Byres*, Sir *William* Scot of *Balwirrie*, Knight, Sir *Andrew* Wood of *Largo*, Knight, Mr. *John* Major Doctor of Theology, who wrote his Chronicle hereupon, and also Sir *David* *Lindesay* of *The Mont*, Knight, alias, *Lyon* King of Arms, with *Andrew* Wood of *Largo*, principal and familiar Servant to King *James V.* *Andrew* *Fernie* of that Ilk, a Nobleman of recent Memory, Sir *William* Bruce of *Earlshall*, Knight, who hath written, very justly, all the Deeds since *Floudowen* Field.



THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
SCOTLAND,

BY  
ROBERT LINDESAY of *Pitscottie*,  
Beginning at KING *JAMES II.*



ING *James I.* being treasonably murdered, and the traiterous Slayers of him condignly punished for the same; yet, nevertheless, the whole Realm was broken and divided in it self; for, where ever is no Awe nor Fear of a King or Prince, they, that are most forthy in the ingyring and forthsetting themselves, live without Measure or Obedience, after their own Pleasure; and, so long as the King is young, great Men reign at their own Pleasure and Liberty, oppressing all Men, as they will, without Doubt, be punished thereafter.

THIS *James I.* left but one Son behind him, called *James II.* not past six Years of Age, who then was brought to *Scoon*, and crowned by the Nobility: But, because the King was not sufficient to govern the Realm for Inlake of Age, the Nobles made a Convention, to advise whom they thought most able, both for Manhood and Wit, to take in Hand the Administration of the Commonwealth: At which Convention was none  
A thought

thought so convenient, as Sir *Alexander Livingston* Knight, of *Callendar*; and therefore was made *Governor* over all the Realm. And also Sir *William Creighton* was, of new, approved *Chancellor* of *Scotland*, because that he had worthily exercised the same Office in King *James I.* his Time.

IN the mean Time, *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, being very potent in Kin and Friends, contemned all the King's Officers, in respect of his great Puissance; so many Complaints were made to the *Governor* and Magistrates, and especially upon the Men of *Anandale*, because he not only spoiled the whole Countries nearest to him, but also cruelly slew the Indwellers thereof without any Pity: And when he was commanded to repair such Injuries done by him, he both obstinately disobeyed, and also stopt others that would have amended these Offences; and caused proclaim publicly, *That no Man within Anandale, or other Bounds whatsoever pertaining to his Dominions, either to call or withdraw the rest; or yet, if he was called, that he obey not any of the King's Officers; under the Pain of Death*; alledging, That he had Privilege of the King to decide all Matters within the Bounds foresaid: Wherefore the whole Nobility, that were Men of good Zeal and Conscience, seeing Justice utterly suppressed on every Side, were highly commoved at the said Earl of *Douglas*, but durst not attempt to punish therefore, because they dreaded to provoke greater Troubles, both to themselves and also to the whole Realm, if they would invade so great a Man.

THROUGH this Manner the whole Youth of *Scotland* began to rage in Mischief and Lust; for, so long as there was no Man to punish, much Herfhip and Slaughter was in Land and Burroughs, great Cruelty of Nobles amongst themselves; for Slaughter, Theft and Murder were then patent, and so continually, Day by Day, that he was esteemed the greatest Man of Renown and Fame, that was the greatest Brigand, Thief, or Murderer: But they were the Cause of these Mischiefs, that were Governors and Magistrates of the Realm.

IN this mean Time many great Diffensions arose amongst us, but it is uncertain who was the Mover, or by what Occasion. The *Chancellor* exercised his Office further than became him. He kept both the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and also our young King therein, who was committed to his Keeping by the whole Nobility; and a great Part of the Nobility assisted to his Opinion. On the other Side, Sir *Alexander Livingston*, bearing the Authority committed to him by the Consent of the Nobility, maintained another Faction; to whose Opinion, the Queen Mother, with many of the Nobles, assisted very cruelly. So the Principals of both the Factions caused proclaim Letters at the Market-crosses, and principal Villages of this Realm, *That all Men should obey conform to the Letters set forth by them, under the Pain of Death*. Through which no Man knew whom they should obey; and also great Troubles appeared in this Realm daily, because there was no Man to defend the Burgeses, Priests, and poor Men Labourers haunting their leifom Business, either publicly or privately, and all other feeble Persons unable to defend them-



themselves, who were most cruelly vexed and afflicted by wicked unhappy Tyrants, in such troublesom Times : For when any past to seek Redress from the *Chancellor*, of Injuries and Troubles sustained by them, these Thieves and Brigands feigned themselves to be of the other Faction, and would burn their Houses, and carry their whole Goods away before they returned Home. And even such like Mischief befel them that went to complain to the *Governor* of the Oppression done to them. Some other good Men, moved, upon Consideration and Pity of their present Calamities, suffered many such Injuries, and kept themselves at Home, and sought no Redress.

IN the Middle of these Troubles, all Things being out of Order, the Queen Mother began to find out a Mean, how she should diminish the *Chancellor's* Power, and augment the *Governor's*, whose Authority she assisted ; so she passed to *Edinburgh*, convoyed with a small Train. The *Chancellor* received her with Gladness, and gave her Entreats to visit her young Son ; and gave Command, how oft she pleased to have Entreats to the Castle, that it should be patent to her Grace : But she very craftily dissembled that she came to intercommune with the Nobles, alledging, That there was nothing that she hated so much as civil Wars and Dissension, knowing that great Mischief was engendred among the Noblemen in the Realm ; and therefore, with a glad Will, she would that all Discord were set aside, and Peace and Unity to be nourished among the Lords ; and desired also that the King were brought up in the Fear of God, and honourably in the Sight of the World ; for in him lay the only Hope and Restitution of the Commonwealth to its own Estate, and Punishment of Transgressors for the Offences committed at such troublous Times ; and, to bring these Purposes to Effect, she promised to imploy her whole Care and Labours to bring all the Subjects of the Realm to Peace and Rest. By this, and other such like Words, the *Chancellor* removed all Suspicion and Hatred out of his Mind, which he suspected the Queen bare toward him before ; so followed such Familiarity and Kindness betwixt the *Chancellor* and the Queen, with her Assistants, that she got Credence to visit and haunt Company with her Son, both Day and Night, without any Impediment or Stop ; while, at the last, spying Opportunity and Time to fulfil her Purpose, when she had such Liberty to enter to the Castle, she gave the *Chancellor* to understand, that she had made a Vow to pass in Pilgrimage to the *White Kirk of Brechin*, for the Health and prosperous Success of her Son, desiring a Licence to carry away two Coffers with her Clothes and Ornaments forth of the Castle ; which being granted to her, she inclosed the young King in one of the said Coffers, and her Clothes in another.

SHORTLY after, the Watchmen and Keepers of the Place deceived on this Manner, she caused certain Men, that knew of her Purpose, to have some Horses ready to carry away the said Coffers to the Shore of *Leith*, where the Coffers were embarked together with herself ; and so she passed forward unto *Stirling*, and was passed a great Part of the Water, upward, or ever the Keepers of the Castle could perceive themselves deceived : And when the *Governor* understood the same, he came suddenly

denly forth of the Castle of *Stirling*, with all his Forces, and received the King and his Mother with great Joy and Gladness, and esteemed the Queen highly, that she had attempted so high and weighty a Purpose, with great Danger of her Life, and had brought the same to a prosperous End, both for the Welfare of the Realm, and the King her Son : Therefore the Governor called all his Friends and Assistants to a Council, upon the third Day thereafter, and said to them on this Manner.

*WHAT* Troubles, intollerable Arrogancy, and how many diverse Oppressions, to our great Rebuke and Shame, we have sustained, bearty Friends, every one of you knows perfectly, since Sir William Creighton, Captain of Edinburgh, was promoted to the Chancellory of the Realm, and Keeping of our Prince, for not only he has made the baill Lands, pertaining to the King, tributary to him, who is a high Officer, but also would have oppressed us with unsufferable Tyranny, and so should have usurped all Honour, Riches and Authority, and we had been brought to Poverty, Shame, and to utter Misery, if he had holden forward his wicked Purpose and Intent. Has he not laboured, ever since, without any Punishment of wicked Limmers, and Perturbers of the Commonwealth, to compel all Men to obey his Charges ? Has he not laboured also to set forth and dress all Matters, both publick and private, like as he had been supreme Magistrate, approved by the Votes of this Realm ? Without Doubt, if this noble Lady, our Sovereign's Mother, through her Wisdom, Prudence and Virtue, and specially by the Favour of Almighty God, had not helped us all the sooner, we should have tholed sharp Persecution, ere any of us could perceive. She passed to the Chancellor in Edinburgh against my Will indeed, because I knew his Subtily so well, that he had a marvellous Foresight of all Kind of Suspicion, and of any Kind of Craft or Fraud, that may, in any Way, redound to his Hurt and Damage ; yea, with a marvellous Conceit, she hath taken away her Son, and brought him now to us ; whereby I understand, that the wisest Man is not always sickereft, nor yet the hardiest Man most happy. Now the Chancellor, notwithstanding all his Wisdom and Foresight, with great Shame, hath lost the King, under the Colour of whose Authority he over-ran every Man, like a greedy and insatiable Tyrant, without all Regard of Order or Humanity. Whatever he purposed to do, he set it out under the Pretence of King, whereby the poor People should take the greater Fear and Dreadour to disobey him : But now his Chance is both foul and miserable, and every Man will laugh him to Scorn ; and, by the contrary to us, we have great Honour ; and the rather that we have in our Hands the King, which we desired above all Creatures in the Earth. Be of good Courage therefore, all the Mischief, Slaughter, Banishment, Troubles and Vexations, which the Chancellor thought to have done to us, let us do the like to him. Let us also take up some Men of War, and every Man, after his Power, send secret Messages to his Friends, that they may all, that favour us, convene together quietly, in Edinburgh, the third Day after this, early in the Morning, so that the Chancellor shall not know us for to come for the Sieging of the Castle, while we have the Siege even belted about the Walls. Forward let us see ; so ye shall have Subjects to you, all that would  
have

*have arrogantly oppressed you. I know that we have Strength for this Effect, if our Hearts serve us: But, I say, the Peril and the Oppression that ye have been in, on the one Part, the Commodity, Freedom and Opportunity of Time, on the other Part, with the great Honour and Glory that will follow thereupon, should persuade you more than my Words can do. We inlake nothing but Hardiment and Courage; Chance and Fortune, which we think to essay, will supply the rest.*

WHEN the Governor had said these Words, every Man, with a glad Heart and Will, promised to assist him with all their Strength; yea, and albeit Archibald Earl of Douglas would concur with the Chancellor in their contrary; and the Queen promised to furnish the Men of War with Victuals out of her own Girdels, induring the Time of the Siege. Attour she said, That no Man mistered to take Fear of the Earl of Douglas, that he would come to support the Chancellor, for he hated him so highly, that he wished nothing more than the Ruin of the Lord Creighton's House, and his Posterity to be rooted out utterly. Through this every Man took the better Courage, and promised to do all Things that lay in them, for performing of the Governor's Command and Charge, and thereafter the Convention dissolved, and every Man past homeward to make him ready to the Effect foresaid. But now will we return to our first Purpose.

THE Chancellor perceiving himself so craftily deceived by his Foes, and also perceiving that there was no Place, almost, to be reconciled with his Unfriends, he thought that there was nothing to follow thereupon, in respect of the Loss of the King, but utter Ruin and Destruction of his House, Kin and Friends; and therefore took Purpose to send a Message to Archibald Earl of Douglas, and desire him to have Support against the Governor and Queen, whom he supposed shortly to come to invade him; which, if he would do, he promised faithfully to make the said Earl mutual Support, and should stand his Friend really and truly beyond all others, when it shall chance him to have ado with his Enemies.

THIS Message scanty ended, the Earl of Douglas, with an ireful Countenance, answered him again in Manner following.

*IT is but little Skaith, I think, for me, albeit such mischievous Traitors as William Creighton, and Alexander Livingston, that you call Governor, move War contrary others: And also it becometh not the honourable State of Noblemen, to help any of them, albeit ilk one of them had wrecked another, so that there were not such a Thing as the Memory of any of them hereafter to our Posterity. As to my self, there is nothing more pleasant to me, than to hear of War and Discord betwixt these two unhappy Tyrants; and namely, where the Beginning of their Dissension is not founded upon a good Cause, but upon a shameful and wicked Ground. Would God I might see a miserable Mischief to besal them both, seeing they have both deserved the same condignly, through their own Ambition, Falshood, Pride and Height: For I know*

B

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*it is the very just Judgment of God, that deceitful Tyrants, setting their whole Purpose and Intent upon Mischief, and Wreck of others, according to their Demerits shall be punished in the Sight of the World, and specially, seeing they have so oft offended both Noblemen and simple Men of good Life and Conversation.*

SOON by this the *Chancellor* had received this Answer, the *Governor* had belted the Siege about the Castle, and invaded the same so sharply, that, nothing being provided, nor well foreseen in Time therefore within the Castle, the *Chancellor* took Purpose therethrough to render the Castle in the *Governor's* Hands; and, to bring this more easily to Effect, he requested the *Governor*, by a Herald, to give him two Days Truce, that he might come forth to the Fields, before the Gates, to talk and intercommune with him, upon fundry Affairs concerning the Commonwealth; and also promised, by the Faith of his Body, to shew him that Thing which might redound to both their Safeties, Welfares and Securities, contrary others that hated them both as One.

THE *Governor*, glad of this Message, accompanied with a small Number of his Friends, as were convened betwixt them, went and met the *Chancellor* at the Place appointed; where the *Chancellor* revealed the sharp Answers of the Earl of *Douglas*, that he had sent to him the Time he sought Support to eschew the *Governor's* present Wrath, saying, *He wished nothing more, than that ilk one of them should destroy another: Wherefore, said he, since this Wickedness and Evil is equally manifest to us both; and, in the mean Time, if it shall chance us to continue any further in this Fead, it shall redound to his Advantage, and to our great Skaith and Shame; whereby we two shall be an easy Prey to the Earl of Douglas our common Enemy; and therefore I would we had Regard to the Welfare of our selves and Friends. If our Dissension have any further Progress, it will be manifold more noisom to us, than if we had Wars with our own Friends; and, as to my self, I remove all Rancour of Mind, seeking freely, from the Bottom of my Heart, your Peace and Kindness, and am content both to render my self and the Castle in your Hands, under what Conditions you please to prescribe to me, willing to be a true faithful Servant and Subject to the Prince, and obedient to your self so long as you bear the Government of this Realm, after the Advice of the King's Counsellors, and yours.*

THE *Governor* heard thir Words very pleasantly, and had good Hope of better to follow hereupon, thinking well, that this present Discord being put to Rest, and the Commonwealth put to Quietness, he should more easily repress all Injuries within this Realm, and therefore, with a hearty Countenance, he requested the *Chancellor* to be mindful to do as he had said; and if he kept Promise truly, he should cut off all the wicked Members, Perturbers of the Commonwealth, and rule the Realm, from thence, with great Tranquillity and Peace. Then, without any further, so soon as he had put himself in the King and *Governor* their Wills, and delivered the Keys of the Castle, in Sign and Token of the Rendring thereof freely, he requested the Benevolence of the whole Nobility present for the

the Time, who held him, from thenceforth, not as an Enemy, but as a principal Pillar of the Commonwealth.

AFTER this the *Governor* was received in the Castle with great Triumph and Mirth; and there Sir *William Creighton* received a Gift again, both of the Castle and *Chancellory*, like as he had before; through the which such Amity and Friendship daily increased betwixt the *Governor* and the *Chancellor*, and amongst their Friends on every Side, that all Men supposed the same to endure for ever unbroken.

IN this mean Time, while the Country was waltring to and fro, in this Manner, there was no other Thing but Theft, Reiff and Slaughter, in the *South* and *West* of *Scotland*; for Sir *Thomas Boyd* slew *Alan Stuart*, Lord of *Darnly* (who, ere he died, obtained the Superiority of *Lennox* from the King) at *Powmathorn*, three Miles from *Falkirk*, for old Fead which was betwixt them, the third Year after the Death of King *James I.* Which Deed was soon requitted thereafter; for *Alexander Stuart*, to revenge his Brother's Slaughter, manfully set upon Sir *Thomas Boyd*, in plain Battle, where the said Sir *Thomas* was cruelly slain, with many valiant Men on every Side. It was foughten that Day so manfully, that both the Parties would retire and rest them diverse and sundry Times, and rencounter again at the Sound of the Trumpet; while, at the last, the Victory inclined to *Alexander Stuart*, as said is; and so the whole *South-west* of *Scotland* was divided in two Parts, and never took Rest till the Decease of *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, who died in the hot Fever at *Lestalrig*, the Year of God 1439. to whom *William*, his Son, succeeded, a young Man of fourteen Years of Age, gotten upon *Mauld Lindsay*, Daughter to the Earl of *Crawford*, whom the said *Archibald* married at *Dundee* sometime, with such Triumph and Pomp, that never the like was seen at no Man's Marriage.

THIS *William* was the sixth belted Earl of that House of *Douglas*. He was a young Man of singular good Appearance in the Beginning; but, alas! the tender Youth, if it be not brought up in the Fear of God, is so easily corrupted, that it inclines rather to Vice than Virtue, especially through the mischievous Company of Harlots and Flatterers, which are the most unhappy and wicked Pest that ever Man, of whatsoever Estate and Condition he be, may be infected with: For, if this young Gentleman had come in honest and godly Company, without Doubt he had been a Man of singular good Wit and Manhood: But he haunted proud and ungodly Mens Company and Counsels, and thereby he, to the great Contempt of the King's Authority, at all Times accompanied above his Estate. Wherever he rode, he was convoyed with a thousand Horsemen, at some Times Two thousand, or more; amongst whom he maintained a great Company of Thieves and Murderers; and would bring them to *Edinburgh*, or any other Towns, of set Purpose, in the King's Sight, to let him understand his mighty Power that he might raise. Attour, he thought himself free from the Injuries of all Enemies, if he represented the same Arrogancy that his Father did use before; and so he not only embraced the whole Form and Manner of his Father's

Father's Conditions, but also surmounted his Pride and Height, above the Expectation of any Man. He decked his Household much more than it was before in his Father's Time; and also, by the Persuasion of Flatterers, he conducted sundry wicked Tyrants, out of all Countries, to depend upon him, wherethrough he might be the more dreadful and awful to every Man: While, at the last, he took such Conceit of himself within his own Bounds, through the vain Flattery of his Dependens, that he thought no Man within the Realm might be his Fellow or Companion: For, it is said, he thought but a small Matter to make Knights; and therefore, to advance his mighty Power, he created Senators of the Parliament within his own Bounds, and held Parliament as he had been a King.

SIR *James Stuart*, Brother to the Lord of *Lorn*, who had married King *James I.* his Wife, assisted the Earl of *Douglas*, and that through some Dissension that was between him and the Governor and Chancellor; by what Occasion they discorded can no Man tell. It is supposed he thought, seeing the Country so divided, as said is, to have had some Rule in the Realm, as well as any other, by Reason he had married the King's Mother. The Governor, to repress Sir *James Stuart's* Insolence, took him with his Brother and cast them both in Prison, dreading, if they had resorted long together in the Earl of *Douglas's* Company, that he should have greater Difficulty to repress their Insolence and Tyranny. The Queen, perceived to be highly commoved and offended at her Husband's and his Brother's Imprisonment, was warded also within the Castle of *Stirling*, by the Governor, which was in his own Keeping at that Time, and detained there, and never was relaxed till there was a Convention made of the whole Nobility, in whose Presence it behoved her to make Purgation, that she was free of all Mis-rule committed by her Husband, nor gave no Counsel thereto; and promised, if ever it should chance him, any Manner of Way, to trouble the Realm, or molest any of the Subjects, that she should not be participant thereof in Time coming. After this the said Sir *James* and his Brother were letten forth at the Request of the Chancellor; and Sir *Alexander Seton*, alias *Gordon*, the first Earl of *Huntley* of that Name, obliged and became Cautioner, that such Enormities, contrary the King and his Governor, should not be committed in Time coming, under Pain of Four thousand Merks, nor yet to usurp any Thing in the Commonwealth.

ALBEIT the Governor punished and corrected thir Men according to their Demerits, yet he punished, with a greater Rigour, others, right honourable and ancient Men, for small and light Suspicion that he took of them, without any Decreet or Inquisition of their Peers; for either he compelled them to compone for themselves, if he suspected them to make any Innovation, or else, without any Trial of their Crime or Innocence, they should incur his Danger and Indignation; which was very hard, in respect he was Governor of the Realm. Others, that were manifest Oppressors, were not only tholed to pass over without any Punishment of their Wickedness, but also were remitted, although they had committed never so great Crimes. This was done without the Chancellor's Counsel, where-

wherethrough he was highly offended ; for he thought well, by this Form and Fashion of the *Governor*, both he and his Authority should be contemned, and the Commonwealth, without Regard, wickedly to be overthrown : But he suppressed the Anger of his Heart, till he saw better Occasion and Opportunity of Time ; and thereby took Purpose to pass homeward to *Edinburgh*, there to contain himself till he was further advised.

ALL this Time the *Governor* remained, with the King and his Mother, in *Stirling*, and retained a great Guard of Men of War, as Use is in *Scotland* in all such troublous Times, about him ; and albeit he understood the *Chancellor* to be a Man of high Spirit and Courage, not willing to sit with so many Wrongs as he had gotten, unrevengeed, if his Power would serve thereto ; yet, not the less, in respect he was *Governor*, having the King in keeping, and therefore all the Realm would and should obey him, he regarded no Man, ruling all Things at his Pleasure, without any Advice or Consultation of other Nobles in this Realm.

WHEN such Things were in doing, *William* Earl of *Douglas* sent *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cummernald*, and *Alan Lawder*, Ambassadors to *Charles VII.* King of *France*, to give him the Dukery of *Turine*, pertaining to him in Heritage, which his Grandfire, who was slain at the Battle of *Vernoil* for the Defence and Liberty of *France*, joyed and bruiked before ; and promised faithfully, That whatsoever was contained into the Charter made thereupon, that he should fulfil the same exactly, like as his Forebeers did before him. *Charles*, moved of great Zeal and Love that he bare toward the Kings of *Scotland*, and their Leiges, granted gladly their Request and Message, and gave to him, and his Procurators, the whole Rents and Lands in *France*, that his Grandfire had before. On the other Side, the said Earl of *Douglas's* Ambassadors, in his Name, gave their Oaths of Fidelity to the King of *France*, and his Successors, to do all Things concerning his Part, as said is.

THE Message, sped with such happy Success, as we have shewn to you already, caused this Earl of *Douglas*, being of tender Age, to be puffed up with new Ambition, and greater Pride than he was before, as the Nature of Youth is : And also the prideful Tyrants and Flatterers that were about him, through this Occasion, spurred him to greater Tyranny and Oppression, than any Man wanted to do before, in any Age.

BUT this Oppression and Mischief reigned not only in the *South-west* Parts, but also the Men of the Isles invaded sundry Parts in *Scotland*, at that Time, both by Fire and Sword, and specially *The Lennox* was wholly overthrown. The principal Men of the Isles were *Lauchlan Macclean* (or *Maccleod*) and *Murdoch Gibson*, two notable Thieves and Murderers. To resist thir cruel Murderers and Traitors, *John Colquhoun* of *Luss* gathered a Company of Men, and fought at *Lochloumond*, beside *Inch-merine*, where he, being overset with a great Multitude of Men, was slain, with many of his Folks, fighting manfully to Death, and few of the Men of the Isles were slain. At that Victory, Traitors  
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became so proud and insolent, that they burnt and herried the Country wherever they came, and spared neither old nor young, Bairn nor Wife, but cruelly would burn their Houses and them together, if they made any Obstacle; or else, if they made no Debate, without Consideration and Pity, would cut their Throats, and thereafter carry away their Gear and Wares, with their Wives and Bairns, who, not witting of such Incurfions, were cruelly murdered and sticked in their Beds, without any Regard of old or young. Thus they raged through the Realm, without any Respect to God or Man.

IN this Year, which was the Year of God, 1439. there arose a great Dearth of Viſuals within this Realm, partly because of the Labourers of the Ground, that might not sow nor win their Corns, through the Tumults and Cumbers in the Country; and partly, which was most apparent to be true, it was the very Wrath and Ire of God, to cause us know ourselves, and, through that Scourge, to provoke us to Amendment of Life. There reigned also a horrible Pest, at that Time, in this Country; for all Men, that were infected therewith, died the same Day they took it, without any Remedy. Attour, albeit thir three Plagues and Scourges reigned amongst us, yet, nevertheless, some Men made them never to mend their Lives, but rather became daily worse; divers others, that complained upon the Enormities that they sustained, got little or no Redress; wherefore the People began to weary, and curse that ever it chanced them to live in such wicked and dangerous Times. It was then whispered throughout the Realm, That the *Governor* was the whole Cause of all Mischief that reigned, for the Time, within the Realm, alledging, That, since he got the *Government*, every Man supposed that he bore greater Favour to bloody and mischievous Tyrants, than it became him; and, for the Hatred that he had to the *Chancellor*, he drew also his Assistance and Familiarity to the Earl of *Douglas*, and maintained him only for the *Chancellor's* Subversion and Ruin: But how soon he knew the same perfectly, That every Man meant that it should redound to his great Hurt, that the *Governor* and the Earl of *Douglas* were confederate, he began to consider, and to pause thereupon very earnestly, and took Purpose to do some hardy and witty Act, wherethrough he should hazard himself, Kin and Friends, to be out of this present Peril, or else be herried, and peril all for ever; while, at the last, when he had sure Knowledge where the King was at his Pastime, and what Folks convoyed him, by Explorators, he, accompanied with certain chosen Men, passed his Way to the Park of *Stirling*, upon a mirk Night, and gave Command to his Friends to be in Readiness, with their whole Forces, to assist him by the Way, and to ly near hand, betwixt *Lithgow* and *Stirling*, if he should be pursued by his Unfriends; and they that came with himself, to the Number of One hundred armed Men, to come but in a small Company, at diverse Passages, to eschew all Suspicion that any might conceive concerning the Purpose, if they had been met upon the Morrow in the Morning.

THE *Chancellor* happened better than any Man supposed; for even, at the Breaking of the Day, the King came out of the Castle to hunt  
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and pass his Time, convoyed with a small Company of Horsemen, as his Use was ; or ever he could perceive the *Chancellor's* Folks lying in wait for him, he was environed and circuited round about with them, who, all together, saluted the King with great Reverence and Humility ; which being done, the *Chancellor* requested his Grace affectuously, That he would be so good as to deliver himself forth of that Prison, wherein the *Governor* most wickedly detained him, to the great Skaith and Damage of the Commonwealth : Exhorted him therefore to pass to *Edinburgh*, or to any other Part of *Scotland* where he pleased, and he should convoy him forth of all Mens Danger, against the Hearts of all them that would the contrary. Attour, it becometh (saith he) a Prince to live freely, empering above others, and not subject to any Vassal's Correction and Chastisement ; for that was the Well of them that wished his Welfare. Thir Words being spoken, the King began to smile, where-through they understood the King to be content of their Coming, and glad to go with them ; and therefore hint his Horse by the Bridle, and convoyed him to *Edinburgh*. At this Time some of the King's Servants and Neighbours, that came with him forth, made Obstacle and Debate ; but the *Governor's* eldest Son, Sir *Alexander Livingstone*, forbade them to make any Impediment, saying, *It was a vain Purpose to strive with so many armed Men, and specially where there was no Danger ; and it was better, at that Time, to sustain a Shame, albeit there was none ; and more necessary to give Place to their Enemy, than to attempt the Thing that was far above their Strength.* It is the Law and Course of Fortune, That he is nearest Peril and Decay, that fits presently highest upon the Wheel ; and, by the contray, he will chance to be illustrated and extolled, who, by Appearance, is utterly dejected and cast down.

SOON after that the King had taken his Way to *Edinburgh*, there met him then Four thousand armed Men, to assist him by the *Chancellor's* Convoy, if any Man would have invaded him, and received him with great Joy ; so, before that the *Governor* got Word, the King was placed in *Edinburgh*.

IN this mean Time of the King's Taking, it chanced the *Governor* to be a Day's Journey out of *Stirling* at that Time : But when he got Word thereof, he sped to *Stirling* again with all Diligence, right solicitous in his Mind, and advised what should be done ; for this vexed him more than all the Troubles he had before : And he was the more crabbed with himself, being esteemed, with all Men within the Realm, a Man of singular good Wit and Foresight, that he should have been so negligent and slothful in keeping of the King, whereby his Unfriends had great Occasion to have him in Derision. Attour, he burnt the more for Anger within himself, that he was so mischanced in this Behalf, he leaving his Familiars and Friends with the King, who knew nothing of this unhappy Fortune that had chanced him, which all his Enemies desired, above all Things, both Day and Night. And also, he believed nothing more than a Falshood among themselves at Home, in respect of his Enemies facile Prey ; Hour and Time so justly kept, and the King's glad Departing

Departing without any Debate or Impediment. When he had paused on this Manner, up and down, and redargued himself for his Slothfulness, he began to advise how he should eschew all Danger, present and to come : And considering, That it was most unsicker to commit his Life and Honour in the Binding up of Bands with the Earl of *Douglas*, who was but a young Man, without Knowledge and Experience of so high and mighty Matters, following the Counsel of vain greedy Flatterers, over-running every Man that he might overcome, without either Law or Reason ; through the whilk, every Man, that favoured the Commonwealth, esteemed him as a manifest Enemy, and not a true Leige of the Realm : And so he thought, That if he would fully leave the *Chancellor*, and others his faithful Friends, and colleague with the Earl of *Douglas*, in Contempt of the *Chancellor*, who would have wrecked them both before, it were a ready Way to cause himself, Kin and Friends, be despighted and lightlied by the whole Nobility, and be deprived of his *Government*, to his great Dishonour and Shame ; at the last, his Bairns, Kindred and Friends wrecked utterly, and himself compelled to leave the Realm for ever. Shortly, he consulted with his Friends, what they thought fit and best to be done in this Matter.

THE Matter long reasoned too and fro by Men of good Experience, they thought nothing better, than to dissemble all Offences that were bygone, with all Quarrels and Debates, betwixt the *Chancellor* and him, to be set aside, and to be at Unity and Concord, as they were before. The *Governor* thought this Counsel very good and sweet ; and therefore, beyond all Mens Expectation, past his Way to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with a small Number of Folks, and that, *namely*, by the Draught and Counsel of two wise, godly and prudent Prelates, being in *Edinburgh* for the Time, *viz.* *Henry Lighton* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and *John Innes* Bishop of *Murray*, who, being both honourable Men, entertained as well with the *Governor* as *Chancellor*, in all Times bygone, made great Labours and Travels to bring them to Peace and Concord, while, at the last, they brought them both together in *St. Giles's Kirk*, void of all Company and Armor, and accompanied with a small Number of their most special Friends that were about them ; then the *Governor* began in Manner following.

*WHEN I was in Company, sundry and diverse Times, with wise and prudent Men, well beseen in Histories both old and new, oftentimes I heard them say, That sober Goods, with Peace and Concord, grow ay more and more, to great Substance at the last ; and, by the contrary, right potent Men, through a small Dissension, have been brought to utter Wreck and Her ship. And not only have we this into ancient Histories of other Realms, but also we have the Experience of the same daily amongst ourselves. What Skaith and Damage, beside the Displeasure of our Hearts, which is worst of all, have we both sustained ? What Loss of Goods and Gear our Familiars and Friends have had, since the Beginning of our Dissension, as I believe there are living Men can tell ? For, of Truth, we have neither Strength nor Riches that we had before, nor yet are we in so honourable Estate, neither with Nobles nor with Commons,*

Commons, as we were wont to be in Time of Concord. Thir civil Wars and Dissensions make us both odious to the People ; and, because it diminishes our Fame and Honour, which are more precious to us than our Lives, I would we took Example of the Things bygone, and not of the Dangers that are to come. I am forsooth the more offended, That we Two, to whom the Government of this Realm is most gaining, and therefore was given to us by the Consent of the whole Nobility, should be holden as Mocking-Stocks to every Man, and esteemed as prideful and ambitious Tyrants ; and to be only the Cause of so great Theft, Her ship, Stealth, Reif and Slaughter ; whereby the whole Realm may be an easy Prey to our Enemies ; for they desire nothing more than our Dissension, daily beholding till we be both rooted out utterly. Through the which all Laws and Justice should be contemned ; and every Man that pleases shall put Hand in the King's own Person ; or else shall abuse all Government and Authority. Remember therefore, that the Nobility has put us in this Place, till the King's Majesty come to perfect Age, to hold this Realm in Tranquillity on every Part ; to repress all seditious Persons, and defend Innocents from the Tyrants, for by our Dissension the Realm is wrecked and betrayed, and not ruled and governed as it should be. I beseech therefore, if thou has Love or Favour, either to this Realm or Prince, that thou wilt remove all Rancour of Heart, wherethrough the Commonwealth is wrecked ; and let us be reconciled again to our old Friendship that was betwixt us ; for Friendship is the most happy Band that can be made, for Welfare of Realms and Countries ; without the which no Man, private or publick, may be profitable to himself, nor yet to the Commonwealth : And therefore, let all Injuries be set aside, having the Welfare of this Realm affixed before our Eyes ; and, that ye should grant the rather to this my Request, I forgive all Wrongs done to me, and shall repair all Wrongs and Offences done by me, at your own Pleasure and Will. Attour, the King shall remain in thy Government and Keeping till he come to perfect Age, because his Father, when he was on Life, committed him to thy Care and Charge ; and, as to my own Part, I desire no more, but that ilk one of us love another heartfully, as it becometh us to do ; and that the Nobility, with the Commons of the Realm, may see and understand us to be faithful Governors and Magistrates of the same, Punishers of Trespassers, and Maintainers of Equity and Justice ; the which, if we do not, but dissent among ourselves, regarding our own private Winning more than the Welfare of the Realm, then our own Gear and Substance shall vanish away for ever, ourselves, Wives and Bairns put to Wreck ; and, that which is worst of all, the King shall be in Danger, and tint betwixt us ; his Treasures and Riches come to nought ; and finally, through our prideful vain Ambition, the Realm shall be an easy and facile Prey to our Enemies.

WHEN the Governor had said in this Manner, the Chancellor made Answer in Manner following.

IT is not unknown to all the Leiges of this Realm, that I detested, in all Times bygone, all Sedition and Wars, setting my whole Labours and Diligence to eschew the same, after my Power ; and, as to the  
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*present Discord newly risen amongst us, which is intended through prideful and vain Ambition, gladly, with my Heart, I would it were so stock-ned forth and set aside, that there should not be so much as a Spark, or any Kind of Memory thereof in Time coming, lest it should, through small Occasion, afterward raise and kindle greater Hatred amongst us. I know perfectly, so long as Hatred and Discord reigns amongst us, there shall never be Grace nor Riches within the Realm, and therefore I cannot refuse both the thankful and honourable Conditions necessary to myself, and also to the Welfare of this Realm, and specially where they come of free Will, not coacted nor compelled; for I desire all Mens Amity and Kindness, and specially of them that are Governors of the Commonwealth; yet it is not decent that either of us decern upon this Matter, nor yet prescribe a Form and Fashion to the Agreement of the present Discord; for it is contrary to all Reason and Law, that any minister Law unto himself: Beside, that whatever the one decerns, the other shall be miscontented therewith, and complain, That the same was done by all the Heads and the Talking that was amongst them: Necessary it is therefore, I think, for me, that some prudent and witty Man, equally for us both, a Favourer of the Commonwealth, be chosen for both the Parties, at whose Arbitriment and Sentence we shall repair all the Offences bygone, with all other Things concerning the Government of this Country; for all Men, that have any perfect Favour thereto, will not only be careful of his Counsel, and spend his Goods and Gear, but also they will ware their Lives to the Advancement and Welfare of the same; and especially they that are placed above others, as a perfect Example for Administration of Equity and Justice.*

• T H U S all their Friends that stood about began to extol and love them both with great Thanksgiving, that both they regarded the Commonwealth so much, and preferred the same to all private Quarrels and Debates. Then both the said Parties were compromit, by their Oaths, to stand at the Deliverance of the Arbitrators chosen by them both, who shortly brought them both to Unity and Concord; and, finally, were so friendly confederate, that neither of them appeared ever to fail to another again.

S H O R T L Y after there was a Parliament set at *Edinburgh*, to make Statutes for repairing the Commonwealth to its old Estate. At this Parliament many and innumerable Complaints were given in, whereof the like were never seen before; there were so many Widows, Bairns and Infants, seeking Redress for their Husbands, Kindred and Friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked bloody Murderers; siklike, many for Her-ship, Theft and Reif, that there was no Man but he would have Ruth and Pity to hear the same. Shortly, Murther, Theft and Slaughter were come in such Dalliance among the People, and the King's Acts came in such Contempt, that no Man wist where to seek Refuge, unless he had sworn himself a Servant to some common Murderer, or bloody Tyrant, to maintain him contrary the Invasion of others, or else had given largely of his Gear to save his Life, and give him Peace and Rest.

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BUT when the Lords of Parliament had consulted long, how, and in what Manner Matters should be amended and repaired ; and also perceiving the Earl of *Douglas* to be a principal Cause of all wicked Enormities and Mischiefs ; and, by reason of his Riches, Kindred and Friends, they could not repress his Tyranny by Strength nor Might ; they therefore wrote pleasant Writings to him, purposing to cut him off by Slight, Subtilty and Craft, requesting, right affectuously, the said Earl and his Brother to come in for Assistance of the Commonwealth, which, without him, his Kindred and Friends, could not be goodly ruled ; for, since they abstained from the Guiding of the same, it was utterly wrecked and come to nought. Such coloured and painted Words they sent to this young Nobleman to draw him in the Snare, albeit they intended nothing more than his Destruction and Ruin : So the Earl being given to Conquest, Glory and Honour to himself, and to his Friends ( and namely he not understanding such fair coloured Words, *That nothing could be done without him and his Kindred and Friends* ) and also, upon the other Part, by the Information of some avaritious Courtiers, and greedy Flatterers that depended upon him, having Regard to their own privy Profit more than to their Master's Fame and Honour, he took Purpose to obey the Letters, and came forward to the King to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his Brother *David*, whom he never suffered to pass a Foot-breadth from himself, and others his most honest Friends, believing no Falshood to bechance him afterward, in respect of the hearty Message that came to him by the Magistrates and Lords of Parliament.

WHEN this Earl was coming forward on this Way, as is declared, the *Chancellor*, on set Purpose, rode forth to meet him, to remove all Suspicion of Falshood out of the Earl's Mind, and requested him very earnestly to ride to *Crichtoun* with him, and to pass his Time for a Day or two. To which the Earl of *Douglas* consented very gladly, and remained two Days, very well treated and entertained, with his Kindred and Friends ; where the *Chancellor* swore, by his great Oath and holy Sacraments, that there was no Man in *Scotland*, except the King's Majesty, that he favoured so well as the Earl of *Douglas*, and would esteem him, from thenceforth, equally with the *Governor* of the Realm. This young Gentleman, fostered with such Flattery, was allured to pass to *Edinburgh*. The *Chancellor*, as he that had no privy Deceit nor Malice latent in his Mind, said, with a hearty Countenance, in this Manner.

*SEING* so it is, that the King hath given and granted to you the largest Riches and Puissance of any others your Friends and Neighbours, I will exhort you with all my Heart ( as him whose House, Kindred and Friends are more dear to me than all the rest of Scotland, my own excepted ) to stand obedient to the King's Laws and Statutes, which it pleases the Eternal God to reign above us at this Time ; and remember the high Fortune you are promoted to, the great Dependence of Vassals, and Land and Man-Rents, with other great Strength and Power, which needs not to be reckoned at this Time, are not come to you, that you should be more insolent thereof, thinking thereby to oppress Inferiours, or yet misken the Magistrates appointed by the Pleasure of God, and the

*the Consent of the Nobility ; but rather, if the King hath given you all thir Foresaids, of his own Benevolence and Pleasure, it becomes you to have him in all Honour and reverent Obedience to his Charge and Pleasure, and, above all Things, to defend the Commonwealth, not regarding of Land and Goods for maintaining of the same in Peace and Rest ; therefore cause all Enormities and Crimes, committed heretofore, to be reformed and remedied within your Bounds, and suffer not the poor People to be overcome and rest by strong and mischievous Tyrants, nor stop no Man to be brought to the King, that is a manifest Trespasser or a Limmer, but, on the contrary, minister Justice equally within your Bounds, as becomes you ; and thereafter, not only thole others to be punished, but also to come with your whole Power and Strength to bring all wicked Butchers, and manifest Oppressors of the Poor, to be adjudged, and thole condignly according to the Laws ; otherwise it will redound to your great Dishonour, Hurt and Shame, to the Wreck and Hership of your Goods and Gear ; and that which is worst of all, to the utter Extirpation of your House, Kindred and Friends ; of the which, since I favour you so well, I would not ye were the Author ; nor yet that you should obscure nor blot the honourable Facts of martial Deeds, and the Honour in civil Government which your Forebears conquered to their Posterity.*

THE young Gentleman being of good Inclination (if he had been well accompanied) took the Chancellor's Admonition in good Part, promising to repair all Things that he had counselled, and to obey and serve the King's Majesty with due Honour and Reverence ; but knew nothing of the Chancellor's Fraud and Guile, who thought that this Realm should be in greater Tranquillity, if the Earl of Douglas and his Brother had been cutted off suddenly.

AFTER this they came to *Edinburgh*, without any Understanding what was devised for their Destruction. Some Men judged that no Good was to come of this Journey, and that through the frequent Messages both coming and going betwixt the Governor and Chancellor, and therefore gave Counsel, That none of them should enter, at that Time, into the Caste of *Edinburgh*, or, at least, if he entred, best it were to send his Brother *David* back again Home, and not to break their Father's Counsel, who inhibited them, that they should never pass both together where there was any Appearance of Danger, Fraud or Guile, lest it should be the Wreck of themselves and House. The Earl gave no Credit to such Conjectures, saying he had Experience of the Governor's and Chancellor's Faith and Loyalty in such Cases ; and, as to the Chancellor, he had so entertained and treated him, that he could dread no Evil and Falshood at his Hand ; yet such quiet Rumours spread through the whole Company, that caused Sir *David Douglas* to perswade the Earl, his Brother, to turn homeward again, dreading some Mischiefe to fall upon this hasty Friendship : For the which the Earl reproved his Brother very sharply, saying it was not decent for him to give Ear to such vain unhappy Flatterers, who were the very Occasion of all Dissension and Discord among Noblemen, so long as they had Place ; and therefore gave Command, with right sharp, threatning and bragging Words, That no Man

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in his Company meant such Thing, let be to speak the same. But behold here a notable Case, and worthy to be marked; the nearer that any Man be to a Peril or Mischief, he runs the more headlong thereto, and hath no Grace to hear them that give him Counsel to eschew the Danger.

THE Earl of *Douglas* being a young Nobleman of good Inclination, wiser perchance than any other of equal Age with him, would neither give Ear to his Goodwillers and Favourers, nor yet was he content with them that gave the Counsel to turn homeward again, but reproved them highly; wherethrough sundry Noblemen, with sad, driry and quiet Countenance followed him, and durst not speak any further. It may be well said of this Man, that Safety itself, albeit it would, could not preserve this Man from Destruction; and so this Man, posting to his Death, without further Delay, spurreth his Horse, and came forward to *Edinburgh*, and entred into the Castle; where, by outward Countenance, he was received with great Joy and Gladness, and banquetted royally, with all Delicates that could be gotten; and ever that he should take no Suspicion of any Deceit to follow thereupon. Then, at the last, many of the Earl's Friends being scaled off the Town, and Opportunity serving, with Consent and Advice of the Governor, who came then, of set Purpose, to *Edinburgh*, when the Dinner was finished, and all the delicate Courses taken away, the *Chancellor* presented a Bull's Head before the Earl of *Douglas*, which was a Sign and Token of Condemnation to the Death; but the Earl and his Brother beholding this manifold Treason, with sad Mind and driry Countenance, start up from the Board, and made to leap at some Place where they might anywise get out; but then, from Hand, a Company of armed Men rushed out round about them, who, breaking all Hospitality, lead them to the *Castle-hill*, with Sir *Malcolm Fleming* of *Cummernauld*, and other Gentlemen their Assisters and Familiars, and shook their Heads from them. This was done in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and forty Years. It is said, the King, being of ten Years then, lamented and wept very sore, when he saw the Men of War bind the Earl's Hands and his Brother's with Cords; and prayed the *Chancellor*, for God's Sake, to let them alone, and save their Lives for any Pleasure that he would desire him; and therefore the *Chancellor* boasted the King right sharply, saying, *That it was for no privy Hatred that he bare toward the Earl of Douglas, and his Favourers and Friends, that he should thole the Death that Day, according to his Deserving, but because he was a plain Enemy to the King's Person, and a manifest Traitor to the Commonwealth; and so long as they were on Life, the Realm would never be at Peace and Rest; but, if they were cut off, the Country should be at greater Tranquillity.* Then, from Hand, thir Gentlemen were hurled forth and execute, as said is.

FROM thenceforth the Realm was at some Part quieter, for a certain Time, than it was before; albeit, not long after this *William*, succeeded his Uncle *James*, Father-Brother to this *William*, of *Anandale*, and Lord *Balveny*, who was called *Gross James*, because that he was corpulent and grown of Body; for this *William* had no Bairns of his Body, nor Brother to succeed him.

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THIS *James* was the seventh Earl of *Douglas*, and was no less hated by the Lieges of this Realm than any of his Predecessors; because that, within short Space, Slaughter and Herfhip reigned as fast in his Days, and especially within his Bounds, as ever it did before; not that he maintained any Thieves and Murderers, but because he punished them not; for he thought ever to have excused himself with his Grownness and Inability. Others thought, that, albeit he had never risen out of his Bed, he should have had such Men about him, at his Command, as should have suppressed all Oppression and Murder within his Bounds: But he lived not long; for he deceased not long after at *Abercorn*, the third Year after he was made Earl.

THIS *James* had seven Sons, to whom the eldest succeeded by Tailie of the Lands of the Earldom of *Douglas*; but the Lands that were not tailed, fell in Heritage to a Sister of the said *William*, viz. The Lands of *Galloway*; and therefore she was called, *The fair Maiden of Galloway*. There fell also to her, *Wigtown*, *Anandale*, *Balweny* and *Ormond*: And it is to be understood, that this *James*, called *Gross James*, followed the Inclination of many others, greedy to conquest greater Rents to his Posterity than he had himself; thinking it was Wickedness to divide the old Heritage of a House; and, by the contrary, it was Wisdom to amplify the Dominions left by the Forebeers, and therefore to couple all thir Lands foresaid in one together: And, to that Effect, procured the Pope's Dispensation to marry his eldest Son upon his Brother's Daughter, Sister to the said *William*. By this Cause, without Doubt, the whole Lands should be united in one; yet, notwithstanding, the rest of the *Douglasses* scunnered, thinking the Marriage to be unlawful; also they thought that over great Lands and Riches were odious to be under a King, which, within short Time, should be the Extirpation of the Sirname, and Rooting forth perpetually of the House. The Principal of the *Douglasses* that dissuaded this Marriage and Annexation of the Lands, were, the Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *John Douglas* of *Dalkeith*, Knight, both descended of the Earl of *Douglas*'s House. When one hath over meikle Gear, either it provoketh the Possessor thereof to attempt some ungodly Purpose; or else, for a little Crime, or a light Suspicion that Kings and Princes take of them, sometimes they are brought to utter Destruction and Confusion. But this Earl *James*, named *Gross James*, was nothing moved with their Words; and also understanding that the King himself was to put Inhibition to this Marriage betwixt his Son and his Brother's Daughter, he hastened the same with greater Diligence, not sparing the Time forbidden, as was the Use then, and caused solemnize the Band of Matrimony. Wherefore the People, moved with Scrupulosity, judged and said, That such a Marriage could never be prosperous and happy, which was of Truth, and the People not beguiled of this Opinion. Many Neighbours Feuds arose in every Part, and that the rather by this *William*, Son to the said *James*, or else by his Assistors; and namely by *John Gormack* an *Athole*-Man, one of the principal sworn Tyrants to the Earl of *Douglas*, who, with a great Company of bloody Butchers, set upon Sir *William Ruthven* of that Ilk, Sheriff-principal of *Perth*, to have slain himself, and rest a Brigand Thief of *Athole* from the King's



King's Justice, whom the Sheriff would have judged : But this Sir *William Ruthven*, seeing the Danger came so suddenly upon him, was much abased, and prayed his Friends, and Gentlemen that were with him for the Time, to take a good Part with him, and not to thole themselves to be murdered with a Meinzie of unmerciful Thieves. And it was so long foughten with doubtfom Chance, till at the last the Sheriff was Victor, and *John Gormack*, with thirty of his Company, manfully slain upon *Midsummer*, One thousand four hundred and forty three Years.

SHORT While after this Combat, there followed another at *Dumbartoun*, to no lels Damage to the Country than the other was. *Robert Semple* and *Patrick Cowbraith*, Deputes to the King's self ( who then was fourteen Years of Age, having the Governace of this Realm in his own Hand ) to keep the Castle of *Dumbartoun* as Principals, began to strive amongst themselves, which of them should be principal Captain thereof ; and when they could not agree with Words, they pulled out Swords and fought right cruelly, till, at the last, *Robert Semple* was slain, and then *Patrick Cowbraith*, being very familiar with the Earl of *Douglas*, took the Castle in keeping, without any further Delay. The Earl of *Douglas* began to muse upon the Slaughter, how that he was judged the principal Mover of both the Combats, through all the Realm, and at Court, thinking there could come no Good of these Things at last, when the King's Majesty came to perfect Age, if he amended not in Time ; and therefore took Purpose to pass to the King in *Stirling* to get a Remission of all Things, and begin to live a better Life in Time coming. So, being accompanied with a great Number of Folks, passed to the King in *Stirling*, and there, at the first coming, fell upon his Knees, and put himself, and all that he had, in the King's Will, desiring Remission of Faults committed by him, and that he might have Licence to wait upon his Majesty, but as the sobereft Courtier in his Majesty's Company ; which if he would do of his gracious Mercy, he promised to be as serviceable as any Man within the Realm ; and also swore the great Oath, that he should pursue all Thieves and Brigands at the uttermost of his Power. The King, with great Humanity of this Nobleman, offering himself willingly in the King's Hands, not only remitted his Offences, but also made him Principal of his secret Council, and used him most familiar of any Man a long Time thereafter. This *William*, being familiar with the King, bore himself very pleasantly to every Man, and did nothing but that which appeared to all Men to be well done for the Welfare of the Country ; so, creeping Piece and Piece in the King's Conceit, tarried upon Opportunity of Time to be revenged upon his Enemies, and namely upon Sir *William Crichton* Chancellor, who so mischantly had put down his Eames, *William* Earl of *Douglas*, and *David* his Brother.

WHILE the Earl appeased his Anger on this wise, the Chancellor, perceiving that he was offended with him, denuded himself of the *Chancellory*, and passed his Way, with his Kindred and Friends, to *Edinburgh*, thinking that he might most easily, being in the Castle, eschew the Danger and Injuries that the Earl of *Douglas* was preparing for him ;  
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and furnished the Castle with Muniti<sup>o</sup>n, Men and Vi<sup>o</sup>ctuals, strongly. It is to be understood, that not this Gentleman alone feared the Earl of *Douglas*, but also the Governor, dreading him in the same Manner, denuded himself of all Offices and Charges that he bare, except the Keeping of the Castle of *Stirling*, and departed hastily out of the Court. Then the Earl of *Douglas*, by whose Moyen and Convoy the whole Realm and Court was guided, thinking he had sufficient Time and Opportunity to revenge all Injuries done to his Friends before, caused summon Sir *William Crichton* sometime Chancellor, Sir *Alexander Livingston* sometime Governor, with his two Sons Sir *Alexander* and Sir *James*, Knights, all, by an Heral<sup>o</sup>d, to underly the Law for such Crimes as the King's Majesty was to lay to their Charge; with Certification, That if they compeared not, they should be denounced Traitors to our Sovereign's Highness. Besides this, he thought, if they compeared, that he should get his Will of them. Thir Noblemen being summoned, as said is, wrote again an Answer to the King, devised by all their Consents, saying, *There was nothing more dear to them than the Welfare of the King's Person, and the Stability of this Realm, ready with such Obedience and Services as became Subjects to their Prince; but because they knew the deadly Enemies, who ruled the Realm, working all to their Confusion and utter Ruin, likely to obtain their wicked Intent, partly through the great Favour that the King bore to the Earl of Douglas, and partly through his great Puissance, they should be overthrown if they came in: Therefore it was expedient for them to give Place, and flee the Fury of their Enemies, till all Injuries were set at Rest and ineased, and the Commonwealth in Tranquillity and Peace, and then they should do such Honour and Reverence as became them duly for the Welfare of the Realm; for it is very unlikely to commit themselves to this present Danger, which they knew perfectly to come in. Attour, as to the King's Commandment and Charge, it was thought unworthy that Maintainers of Thieves and Murderers, being surrogated in their Places, who were constitute and called to the Government of the Realm by the Votes of the Lords of Parliament, ruled the same with the Favour of all good Men, till now that the King's Majesty, destitute of such Noblemen, Favourers of the Commonwealth, by the Counsel of potent and ambitious Tyrants, laboured daily to promote all mischievous Tyrants to Honours and Dignities, to the heavy Danger of the Commonwealth, and dreadful Terror of the King's Lieges of the Realm.*

How soon the Earl of *Douglas* perceived their high Contempt of his Authority, he caused proclaim a Parliament to be holden at *Stirling*, where the foresaid Persons were forfeited and denounced Rebels to the Crown; and gave Charge to Sir *John Forrester* of *Corstorphin*, for to in-bring all their Moveables to the King's Use, which were escheated. After this all Men were charged to pass forward with displayed Banner, by open Proclamation, to invade thir Men as common Traitors to the Crown; and also an Army of Men being gathered, they sieged the Castle of *Crichton* in *Lothian*, which was rendred from Hand so soon as they saw the King's Standard; and the Men were letten pass Bag and Baggage, and the Castle casten down to the Ground. To revenge these In-

juries,

juries, Sir *William Crichton* collected a great Army of his Kindred and Friends, and first burnt the whole Lands of *Corstorphin*, and convoyed away the Goods and Gear that might be gotten ; and thereafter invaded the Earl of *Douglas's* Land with Fire and Sword, and burnt all the Corns and Corn-yards, Villages and Towns, wherever he came ; and sick-like he did in the Lands of *Abercorn*, and the Town of *Blackness*, with the Castle thereof, and carried away great Preys of Horse, Sheep and Nolt out of all their Towns. But the Earl of *Douglas* perceived the Chancellor bolstered by his Friends to his heavy Damage and Skaith ; amongst whom he suspected *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Sister-Son to King *James I.* He therefore sent Writings to the Earl of *Crawford* and *Alexander Ogilvy* of *Innerwharrity*, two special Courtiers, his Friends, to make Hership upon the Bishop's Lands ; and if they might apprehend himself quick, to keep him in Prison within Irons, till further Advertisement.

THIS Charge they fulfilled, and herried not only the Bishop's Lands, but also the whole Lands adjacent thereto, and brought great Preys of Goods out of *Fife* to *Angus*. As for the Bishop, he contained himself in Safeguard, thinking it became him not to be a Fighter : But yet he thought it expedient to use his own Authority upon such as invaded him, as said is ; and therefore summoned the Earl of *Crawford*, and led upon him a Sentence of Cursing, for his Contempt of the Censures of holy Kirk ; which the Earl lightly vilipended, as a Thing of no Strength, without Fear of God and Man. But not long after, when the Earl was labouring very diligently to reconcile his Son *Alexander Lindesay*, and *Alexander Ogilvy* foresaid, to the old Friendship kept betwixt their Friends before, he was slain, as shall be shewn hereafter. His Son *Alexander Lindesay* occasioned this Discord that fell betwixt them for the Bailiary of *Aberbrothock*, which pertained to *Alexander Lindesay* ; but *Alexander Ogilvy*, whether it came of his own Ambition, or if it was the Abbot's Pleasure, it is not certain, but he usurped the Bailiary to himself, and put this *Alexander* from the same. Wherefore being, on this Way, robbed of his Right, he gathered a Company of his Friends, and specially the *Hamiltons*, who assisted him for the Time, and came forward with displayed Banner, and arrayed Battle to *Aberbrothock*, to take the same again by Force. *Alexander Ogilvy* also gathered a great Company, among whom was *Alexander* then Earl of *Huntley* ; which being shewn to the Earl of *Crawford*, being in *Dundee* for the Time, willing to stop all Mischief that might befall his Friends, he came unto them in all Haste. Scantly was he well come, when both the Armies were ready to joyn and shock together ; yet he stopped his Son *Alexander* to make any Onset, and when he was coming in proper Person toward *Alexander Ogilvy's* Folks, to talk and intercommune friendly in all Debates betwixt his Son and them, a Soldier, not knowing what he was, and wherefore he came, struck him at the Mouth with a Spear, and throughout the Neck, and he died incontinent, in good Action, labouring to put Christian Men to Peace and Rest, and conquest a good Commendation of all Men, albeit he was very insolent all the rest of his Lifetime. Which when his Son and Friends beheld, they were so enraged, that they suddenly

denly rushed upon their Enemies in great Ire : But they, upon the other Side, resisted the Press, and held their Adversaries right manfully off for a long Time, till, at the last, the Laird of *Innerwbarrity*, Principal, was deadly wounded, and another great Part of the most valiant Men in the Throat of the Battle slain : They gave the Backs ; and, in the Fleeing, many of them were slain ; amongst whom was *John Forbes* of *Pitsligo*, *Alexander Barclay* of *Gartley*, *James Maxwell* of *Telling*, *Duncan Campbell* of *Calder*, *William Gordon* of *Burrowfield*, all Barons, and diverse other Gentlemen. And there were an hundred slain upon the other Side. The Earl of *Huntley*, being destitute of his Folks on this Manner, horsed himself, and fled away to save his Life in *Innerwbarrity* ; but he was taken, and brought living to *Finhaven*, where he died within short Time thereafter, by a Stroke he had got on the Side. The Morn thereafter the Gentleman was honourably buried in the Church-Yard. This Battle was stricken in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and forty five Years.

AFTER this, there followed nothing but Slaughter in this Realm, every Party ilk one lying in wait for another, as they had been setting Tinchills for the Slaughter of wild Beasts. Among whom *Robert Boyd* of *Dowquale*, Captain of *Dumbartoun*, lay in wait for *James Stuart* of *Auchmynto*, who was but sixteen Men in Train ; and shortly, or ever *James Stuart* had Knowledge that any Man unbefet his Gate, a Company of armed Men rushed out about him, and slew him cruelly, a little Piece from *Kirkpatrick* ; and thereafter, from Hand, took his Wife out of her own House, and brought her Captive to *Dumbartoun*, and by the Convoy of a Priest, who falsely promised, that she should thole no Skaith. But when she perceived herself mocked in this Manner, through high Displeasure of her Husband's Slaughter, she parted with a dead Bairn, and died herself the third Day thereafter.

IN this mean Time *Archibald Dumber* sieged the Castle of *Hales* in *Lothian* ; and, at the first Assault, he wan the same, and slew them all that he found therein. But shortly thereafter he was sieged by *James Douglas*, in whose Will he put himself and Castle, without any further Debate. Innumerable Slaughter was made this Year in *Anandale*, where the People has ever been, and yet are given to nothing more than to Slaughter.

SHORTLY thereafter Mischief reigned so common in all Parts, that many Gentlemen of this Realm, seeing there was no Regard of the King, nor the Earl of *Douglas's* Forces, who was the principal Guider of the Court, contained themselves and Friends within strong Fortresses, and lest their Goods, that might not be kept within a Strength, to Thieves and Robbers, to take them as they thought good, thinking, if they saved themselves, they had sufficient, till a better Fortune.

IN the next Year thereafter, the King, by the Earl of *Douglas's* Counsel, sieged the Castle of *Edinburgh* nine Months all together ; but, at the last, *Sir William Crichton* rendred the Castle upon thir Conditions,  
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*That he, and all that assisted him, should have Remissions for all Offences bygone, and he himself to be reconciled in the King's Favour after his old Manner.* The Castle being rendred, as said is, was reformed again of new, better than it was before. Soon thereafter a Parliament was set to be holden at *Perth*; in the<sup>e</sup> which Sir *William Crichton* was received again to the King's Favour, and made *Chancellor* again of new, by the Consent of the whole Parliament; yet he meddled not with any publick Affairs, expecting a better Time, till he should have been purged by an Affize from all Kind of Suspicion concerning the King's Majesty.

THE same Year Sir *James Stuart*, Knight, who married the King's Mother, was banished; because he spake sometimes rashly, That the Realm was evil guided; which redounded to the Defamation of the Earl of *Douglas*. This Sir *James*, within short Time thereafter, was taken upon the Sea by the *Flemings*, with some Earls both of *Scotland* and *England*, and led Captive to *Flanders*, where he died within short Time thereafter; and also his Wife, King *James II.* his Mother, died shortly after him, hearing of her Husband's Decease; and was buried in the Charter-house of *St. Johnstoun*, beside her first Husband King *James I.* to whom she bore eight Bairns. Of the which there were but two Sons, King *James II.* now King; the other called *Alexander*, who died an Infant; and six Daughters. The First, called *Margaret*, was married upon the *Dolphin* of *France*, called *Lewis XI.* Son to *Charles VII.* The Second, Dame *Helenor*, married upon the Duke of *Bartanzey*. The Third upon the Lord of *Camphire*, and thereafter upon

The Fourth upon the Duke of *Austrick*, and thereafter upon The Fifth upon the Earl of *Huntley*, called *George*, upon whom he begat a Daughter, who was married upon the Earl of *Arrol*, and then parted with her by the King her Brother's Consent; and thereafter the Earl *George* married the Earl of *Arrol's* Daughter, of whom came Earl *Alexander*, Earl *Adam* of *Sutherland*, with diverse others. The Sixth married upon the Earl of *Mortoun*. The Queen bore to Sir *James Stuart* three Sons; *John*, who was Earl of *Athole*, *James* of *Buchan*, called *Hearty James*; the Third *Andrew* Bishop of *Murray*.

SHORT While hereafter Sir *William Crichton* Chancellor, by the convoy of *Charles VII.* King of *France*, was sent to spouse *Margaret* the Duke of *Gilder's* Daughter, to be brought Home to Wife to King *James II.* The Gentlewoman was granted very gladly, and honourably convoyed by the Lord of *Camphire*, Marquis of *Berg*, Earl of *Nassau*, the Bishop of *Cambray*, and the Bishop of *Luig*; attour there came a Prince out of *Ravenstein*, with diverse other noble Knights and Squires. The Marriage being solemnized, there was a Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*; at the which, by the Counsel of some ambitious Flatterers, Sir *Alexander Livingston* of *Callendar*, sometime Governor, *Alexander* his eldest Son, *Robert Livingston* Treasurer, and *David Livingston*, both descended of the House of *Callendar*, *James Dundas* and *Robert Bruce* of *Clackmanan*, Knights, were taken, notwithstanding that they were recon-

reconciled with the King's Majesty, and had to diverse Places, and casten in Prison. Albeit the Nobility and Lords of Parliament requested the King to relax them; yet the high Hatred that the Courtiers had conceived against them, so prevailed over all Supplication, Law or Reason, that they were kept close in Irons till the seventh Day of *December*; and, on the eighth Day, brought to *Edinburgh*, where *Alexander Livingstone*, sometime Governor, *James Dundas* and *Robert Bruce*, paid great Sums of Money, and thereafter were warded in *Dumbarton*, and the rest were headed. It is said that this *Alexander*, when he was upon the Scaffold, turned him to the People, and made a singular good Oration, *Declaring the Mutability and Unstablens of Fortune, exhorting all Gentlemen and Nobles of this Realm to take an Example by him, of the fragil Felicity of this World.* At sometime his Father was chosen Governor of this Realm, and where he himself bore some Charges so prosperously, and with so great Commendation of all Men, that his Father loved him above all Treasures; yet, through Change of the Court, his Father, himself and Friends were so sharply pursued, that they were forced to Strengths for the Defence of their Lives, and preserving themselves to better Fortune; till, at the last, their Innocency was tried, they were in a Manner restored to the King's Favours, which endured not long: For short While after, by flattering Courtiers, they were warded again. Now his Father warded, himself adjudged, not by neutral Men of sincere and good Conscience, but by his deadly Enemies, to underly a shameful Death, as he had been a Traitor: And therefore desired all Noblemen not to desire great Offices in the Court, albeit they appeared both honourable and commodious: For they that are promoted to the highest Places, when they slide, they get the greatest Fall. And, when they are put down, if they be loved on the one Part, by good Men, for their worthy Behaviour, they shall be reproached, on the other Part, by the wicked and ungodly Men. Thir Words being said, he fell upon his Knees, and stretched forth his Craig to the Sword. A lamentable Sight to behold! and was beheaded to the great Displeasure of all the People.

IN the Year following the Queen parted with a Bairn, but no Man knew by what Reason; the Bairn was born quick, and deceased within short Space thereafter. In the same Year the royal Walls of *Dumfermling* being casten down, there was a Body of a young Child found in a Cape of Lead, wompled up in Sandal, as fresh, incorrupted, and of as vive Colour as the first Hour it was buried. It was judged by them that were curious of old Antiquities, to be a Son of Queen *Margaret*, who deceased in his Infancy.

AT FOUR, the Peace and Truce taken with *England* expired the same Year; and therefore the *Scots* made diverse Incurfions and Roads in *England*, waisting all with Fire and Sword wherever they came. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lieutenant and Warden for the Time upon the *English* Border, to revenge thir Injuries again, invaded *Scotland* upon the *West* Borders, on the one Part, and burnt *Dumfries*, with diverse other Towns, and returned Home again with good Prey of Goods and Bestial. And also the Earl of *Northumberland*, on the other Part, came upon the *East*

*East Borders*, and burnt and herried *Dumbar* in the same Year. Sir *George Douglas*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*, not willing to be in an *English-Man's* Commoun for an evil Turn, gathered a Company of chosen Men, and burnt the Town of *Anwick*; out of the which he gathered a great Prey, both of Men and Goods, ere he returned in *Scotland*. But the Prisoners of both the Realms were interchanged, and rendred again, Man for Man, on both the Sides. Such Herfhip was made at this Time, on every Side, that both the Realms were constrained to take Peace for seven Years to come.

IN the mean Time, when such Things were in doing, the Earl of *Douglas*, having the whole Guiding of the Court, laboured daily to promote his Friends to Honour and Dignity; and obtained from the King the Ward and Marriage of *Annes Dunbar*, youngest Daughter to *James* last Earl of *Murray* of that Sirname, to *Archibald Douglas* his Brother; and so made him Earl of *Murray*. This *James* deceased without any Heirs male of his Body; and so the Lands came to the female by Donation of the King. This *William* Earl of *Douglas*, not content of this Augmentation to his House, promoted *John* his Brother to the Lordship of *Balveny*, and *George Douglas* to the Earldom of *Ormond*, in Parliament; who were also chosen and declared principal Counsellors of the Realm. But sundry suspected, that this sudden Access to that Felicity should have a short Decay; for since they saw the Earl of *Douglas* so covetous, given to make up his Friends, and so immediately to promote them to Lands and Lordships, for the strengthening of his own House, wherethrough they should make a Bar to the King's self, if there chanced any Walter of Court; and thereupon every Man judged that sudden and prosperous Success should have a short End.

BUT now, since it hath chanced us to speak of the Translation of the House of *Murray* from the *Dunbars* to the *Douglasses*, I think it expedient to speak of the Diversity of Surnames that have joyed the same with great Laud and Praise, since King *Robert I.* even unto this present Time, who bare themselves right wisely and manfully both in Peace and War.

IN old Times *Robert the Bruce* gave the Earldom of *Murray* to his own Sister's Son, Sir *Thomas Randal* of *Stradown*, Knight, chief of the Clan *Allan*; whose Works can testify his Life in the fourteen Book, rehearsed before in this same History; and failing of him, and Heirs of his Body, that it should return again to the Crown. This *Thomas* had two Sons, but I cannot tell who was their Mother. The eldest called *Thomas*, who succeeded to his Father's Place; the other called *John*; who, without any Succession of their Bodies, were both slain at the Battle of *Duplin* in *Strathern*, fighting manfully to the Death, for the Defence of this Realm, invaded by the *English-Men*, our old Enemies. He also had two Daughters; of whom the eldest was called *Black Annes*, by reason she was black-skinned. This *Annes* was a Woman of greater Spirit than it became a Woman to be, who was married upon *Patrick* Earl of *March*. The Second was called *Geiles*, and was married upon *John* Brother to the Earl of *March*; and bore to him *George*, who succeeded

ceeded to his Father-Brother heritably in the Earldom of *March* ; and another Son called *John*, a Man of singular Virtue and Beauty. This *John*, for his Virtue and Manhood, was married upon King *Robert II.* his Daughter, and promoted to be Earl of *Murray* ; for it is returned in again to the King's House, by reason that it failed in the Heirs male of *Randal*. And this was the first *Dunbar* that bruiked the Lands of *Murray*, who begat *Thomas Dunbar* who succeeded to his Father ; and another named *Alexander Dunbar*, who married *Mauld Fraser*, succeeded in his Place. This was the sixth Earl of *Murray*, who was also Laird of *Frendracht*. This *James* begat upon *Isobel Innes*, Daughter to the Laird of *Innes*, *Alexander Dunbar*, a Man of singular Wit and Courage. This *Isobel* was but Hand-fast with him, and deceased before the Marriage ; wherethrough this *Alexander* he was worthy of a greater Living than he might succeed to by the Laws and Practices of this Realm. After this *Isobel's* Decease, this *James* Earl of *Murray* married *Katharine*, lawful Daughter to *Alexander Seton*, as is supposed, the first Earl of *Huntley* called *Gordon*, who bore to him two Daughters. The first was married upon Sir *William Crichton*, Heir to the said Lord *Crichton* foresaid, and got with her the Land of *Frendracht* in Tocher. The youngest was married upon *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas's* Brother, who was promoted to the Earldom of *Murray*, as said is : But this *Archibald* being convicted and forfeited for Lese-Majesty, the Earldom returned to the King's Hands again.

BUT let us return to our Purpose and History. This *William* Earl of *Douglas* being insolent through the Promotion of Friends, began to maintain so many as were plain Flatterers, and allowed his Doings, or were ready at his Command, to execute such Mischief as was his Pleasure. He promoted them, yea, many of them from base Estate to great Riches and Dignity above their Degrees ; but whatsoever he was so hardy as to reproach his Doings, ( for it gainstood some Mens Conscience ) how soon it came to his Ears, he caused them to be adjudged to underly the Law ; where he, being Judge and Party, spoiled them sakelessly of their Lives. And, by the contrary, so many as depended upon him, albeit they had been never so guilty, they were overseen, or else he got them free Respites and Remissions for all Offences ; wherethrough they been boldened up by such licentious Prerogatives above others, they put no Difference betwixt Wrong and Right. Oppression, Ravishing of Women, Theft, Sacrilege, and all other Kinds of Mischief, were but a Dalliance : So that it was thought leifom to a Depender on a *Douglas* to slay or murder ; for so fearful was their Name, and terrible to every innocent Man, That, when a mischievous Limmer was apprehended, if he alledged that he murdered and flew at a *Douglas's* Command, no Man durst present him to Justice.

THROUGH this unequal Punishment of Innocents, and great Favour that he bore to Tyrants and Malefactors, every Man began to hate his Cruelty, for he regarded nothing the Love nor Favour of the People ; but he gloried to be dreaded of all. To Thief and Reaver he was a sicker Targe ; and, by the contrary, a plain Enemy to good Men ; thinking that



that it was a great Pleasure to spoil them of their Lives, and whom ever he favoured not, without all Equity and Law. Also he spoiled all Kirks and Chapels wherever he came, and converted the Jewels thereof to his profane Use and Profit. So all good Men behoved to keep Silence, and durst not cry out upon his Tyranny.

AT this Time *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, a Man of singular Virtue and Prudence, held himself very quiet, waiting upon a better Fortune, thinking that this great Cruelty that was exercised should have a sudden End.

THIS Time fell a horrible Case to *John Cameron* Bishop of *Glasgow*, principal Ruler of the Prince and Court to all Mischiefs, and innocent Slaughter done in thir troublous Times. A marvellous Example to all mortal Men to withdraw themselves from all wicked Counsel, Abuse and wicked Tyranny: For he counselled them to exercise all such Scaithing and Oppression upon the Realm, as he had done himself upon the poor Tenants of *Glasgow*. So that when the divine Power of God had permitted him to over-run and scourge the People, on this Ways, for a certain Space, he thought to put an End to his wicked Tyranny: At the last, on *Tule-Even*, when he was sleeping, there came a Thunder and Voice out of Heaven, crying, *and summoning him to the extreme Judgment of God, where he should give an Account and Reckoning of all his cruel Offences, without further Delay.* Through this he wakened forth of his Sleep, and took Fear of the Novelty of such Things, unknown to him before: But yet he believed this to be no other but a Dream, and no true Warning for Amendment of his cursed Life; yet he called for his Chamber-Chiels, and caused them to light Candles, and to remain a While beside him, till he recovered the Fear and Dreadour that he had taken in his Sleep and Dreaming: But by he had taken a Book, and read a little While, the same Voice and Words were heard with no less Fear and Dreadour than was before; which made them that were present at that Time about him, to be in Dread; so that none of them had a Word to speak to another, thinking no less than sudden Mischiefs hastily to befall them all; and, from Hand, the third Time, the same Words were more uglyly cried than before. This Bishop rendred his Spirit hastily, at the Pleasure of God, and shot out his Tongue most wildly, as he had been hanged upon a Gallows. A terrible Sight to all cruel Oppressors and Murderers of the Poor. But, alas! the wicked Ingyne of Man, boldened up with all conceived Malice, dreads never the terrible Judgment of God; nor yet the good, and godly Man never ceaseth to embrace his infinite Grace and Mercy. But to our History.

ALBEIT the Realm of *Scotland* was troubled and afflicted on this Manner; yet the Realm of *England* stood in no better Case than their Neighbours did; for *Henry VI.* a Bairn of six Years of Age, being crowned King of *England* and *France*, there fell a Discord between the *Burgunds* and *English-Men* (both oppressing *France* with Fire and Sword) for the Slaughter of the Earl of *Sarisbury*, who was slain by Shot of a Gun, uncertain how or what Way. This Slaughter was very profitable

profitable for the *French-Men*, who were governed and ruled in Wars by a Woman of excellent Spirit, called *The Maiden of France* ; for they thereby began to be of better Courage, and to recover many of their Lands, which the *English-Men* had reft from them before ; and not only triumphed they againft the *English-Men*, but alfo became victorious of whatfomever People or Nation with whom they had Debate or Quarrel. But the *English-Men* thinking to augment their Strength by a new Alliance and Affinity, married this young King *Henry VI.* upon the Duke of *Lorrain's* Daughter, and lightlied the honourable Marriage with the Duke of *Orleans's* Daughter, who was promifed in Marriage to him oft before ; fo, in contracting of new Friendship, they loft the old. Whereat the Duke of *Orleans* took fuch Hatred and Indignation, that, with many Nobles, his Friends and Familiars, he left the *English-Men*, and gave over the Band betwixt them. And thereafter, from Hand, as the unfortunate Chance of worldly Affairs befalls, that Mifchief ever follows upon Mifchief, there rofe a marvellous Sedition in *England*, and difcord among themfelves : For many Noblemen, envying the Empire and Governance of the Duke of *Glocefter*, who was chofen Protector of *England* during the Minority of the King, gathered to a Convention, where they took him and put him in Prison for that Night ; and, upon the Morrow, brought him out and hanged him shamefully upon a Gallows, as he had been a Thief.

THE principal Movers of this Sedition were, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Bezwmont*, and the Conftable of *England*. But how foon this vile Aft was divulged through the Realm, *Glocefter's* Kindred and Friends gathered, and invaded all Parts with Fire and Sword ; wherefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset* and *Sbrewsbury*, who were appointed for the Defence of *Normandy*, and to gainftand their Enemies in *France*, being deftitute of their Kindred and Friends, that were both in *England* and *France*, were compelled to withdraw them homeward ; and fo they loft *Rovan*, with many other good Towns in *Normandy*.

How foon thir Novels were spread in *England*, the Commons of *England*, with no lefs Mifchief than the reft, chofe themfelves an *Irish-Men*, called *Henry*, to be a Chiftain ; and then came forward, purpofing to come to *London*, boasting right highly to be revenged upon the Nobles of the Realm.

THE King, being fome Part dejected in fo great a Variance, gathered an Army of all Kind of People through other, without any Order, and fent them forth to repress the Proudnefs of the Commons. Upon whom the Commons rufhed fo fiercely, that they vanquifhed them with fmall Difficulty. Thereafter paffed to *London*, where they defired fome fpecial Courtiers to be rendred in their Hands ; and fpecially the Lord *Gray* Treafurer, the Bifhop of *Sarisbury*, and the Lord *Dudly* ; fo thir Men were given to them to difpone at their Pleasure, thinking, that through the Sacrifice of thir Mens Lives, all the reft might efchew the prefent Danger. But thir Commons ireful Cruelty, in a Manner, was fufficed with the Slaughter of the Lord *Gray* ; and thereafter they warded the reft

rest in strong Holds and Fortresses. But how soon the Lord *Gray* was execute, they began to spoil the Town, and slew all the Citizens, without Ruth or Pity, that made any Defence for their Gear.

THIS, and such like other Cruelties, made the Governors of *England* very solist and feared, thinking, that if they put no Remeid hastily to thir Labourers, the Commons should over-run them, as they had done the rest. After long Consultation, they caused the Chancellor write to the Commons and their Captain, praying them to skale their Army; which, if they stenchd their Uproars, they promised them free Remission of all Offences bypast; and also to promote their Captain *Henry* to great Honour and Dignity. The People was soon allured by thir fair pleasant Words, who when their high Fury overpast them, they desired to be at Home, willing to red themselves of such Cummers and Enormities as they had entred in before. So *Henry* their Captain being left by them, for whose Cause he attempted so high Oppression and Mischief, was taken and beheaded for his temerarious Enterprises; and his Taker got a thousand Pounds *Sterling* for his Reward.

THEN the Nobles, seeing that so long Peace had bred so great Riches among the Commons, wherethrough they became so proud, that they perturbed the Country in this Manner, after long Consultation, they thought nothing better to break them with, than some foreign Wars; wherefore they began to cause *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* to provoke Wars. It hath been the Use, ever since this Isle of *Britain* was inhabited, either by *Scottish* or *English*-Men, That whenever they had Wars with their Enemies, they could never be so easily drawn from Civil Discord; and, by the contrary, being at Dissension among themselves, they were compelled to desist therefrom by moving of foreign Wars. So the *English*-Men, as said is, invaded the Borders both with Fire and Sword, and carried away great Preys both of Men and Goods; and so many *Scottish*-Men as made Defence to resist the Invasion and Herryship, were all slain cruelly.

THE *Scottish*-Men knowing well the Intention of the *English*-Men, and by what Counsel the Truce betwixt them was broken, and also the Occasion wherethrough the Wars began; to revenge the great Injuries done to them, they gathered a great Band and Company of Men, and invaded *England* in this same Manner, burning and slaying where they came, and returned Home with great Preys of Men and Goods. So the Countries being invaded on this Manner, on either Side, and daily troubled with Slaughter and Herryship, as said is, the Lands of *Cumberland* were all utterly wasted and destroyed. So the *Scottish*-Men invaded that Country with greatest Cruelty, by Reason they were the first Provokers of the Wars.

BUT how soon this was shown to the Nobles of *England*, they collected an Army of Men, to the Number of forty thousand Men, and sent them to invade *Scotland* with greater Expedition than was believed. The Chiftains and Lieutenants of this Army, were, the Earl of *Northumberland*,

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*berland*, and *Magnus Reidman*, Knight of the Order, who was so well brought up in the Wars of *France*, and therethrough had so great Knowledge and Experience of War, and warlike Affairs, and also illustrate with such Manhood, that he was called by the *English*-Men, the Father of Chivalry; who was named by the *Scots*, *Man with the red Main*. It is said, that this Man had such Hatred at *Scottish*-Men, that he desired, in great Anger and Wrath, so much *Scottish* Ground from King *Henry* as he might conquest in *Scotland*, by the Slaughter of the Inhabitants thereof and expelling of them, which was granted to him.

IN this mean Time the *Scottish*-Men were very diligent to prepare all Things that were necessary for their Relief; to whom *George Douglas* Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant; who got Knowledge by the Explorators, That the *English*-Men were coming in *Amandale*, and had transported their Army over the Water of *Solloway*, and had stented their Pavilions upon the Water of *Sark*. After that they were camped on this Ways, upon the Morn after, they passed through the Country, and herried and slew wherever they came: But knowing that the *Scottish* Armies were approaching so near, they took great Fear, and caused them all that were burning and slaying, as said is, to retire, by Sound of Trumpet, to the Camps again, where they put themselves in arrayed Battle. In the Vanguard *Magnus Reidman* was placed. In the Rear-guard were all the *Welsh*-Men placed, to whom *John Penneyton* was made Chiftain; a Man of good Report and Spirit in warlike Affairs. And the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Middleward, with the rest of the Multitude of Men of War.

UPON the other Side, our *Scottish*-Men placed themselves very craftily: For *George* Earl of *Ormond* was in the Steill himself; and the Laird of *Craigie-Wallace*, a noble Knight of sovereign Manhood, was upon the right Wing; the Lord *Maxwel* and the Laird of *Johnstoun* on the left Wing, with a chosen Company of their Friends, and many other valiant Gentlemen and Yeomen of this Realm. So, by thir Armies were arrayed, the Earl of *Ormond* said to his Folks on this Manner. *I request you, most valiant Champions, affectuously to remember, That it was not for no wrongous Quarrel that we have assembled ourselves this Day at Armour, but rather for our own Defence, and Security of our Lives from the Injuries of our Enemies, and their Tyranny, who, at this present, do invade without any Cause or Provocation made by us. Every one of you understands sufficiently, that they have done the same oft before, which at the last hath redounded to their high Displeasure and Disadvantage. For we have Experience, when we have been most unjustly invaded by them, that the infinite Favour of God, which hath been ever ready to the Just, has caused the Victory to incline to us by Expectation of Man's Ingynne. And ye may be assured, That the Victory stands not in Multitude of Men, but in singular Courage, directed with a just Quarrel, and God's Providence. Think nothing but Victory, if that your Will and Purpose be to deliver your Country, Wives and Bairns from the Tyranny of your Enemies.*

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THEIR Words being said, the Trumpets sounded to joyn the Armies: But, at the Beginning, there came such a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the *Scottish* Vanguard, that, through sudden Fear, they took Purpose to flee. Then *Craigie-Wallace*, their Captain, began to reproach them for their Feebleness, saying, *That it is not the Duty of valiant Champions to fear at the Sight of their Enemies, and to deject their Courage before they come to Strokes. I exhort you therefore to rush forward upon your Enemies with a manly Countenance. If ye persevere but a little Space, think no other but the Victory shall be in your Hands, seeing your Action is good, for the Defence of your Liberty and of your Country: Follow me therefore, and ye shall see how happy it is to put our Lives in Peril for the resisting of our Enemies, and delivering of ourselves from Tyranny and Bondage.*

By thir Words were said, his Men were so enraged, and rushed so furiously upon the *English* Vanguard, with Axes, Spears and Halberts, and made so great Slaughter at the first Coming, that they put the *English*-Men clean a-back from their Standard, and compelled them, at the last, to take the Flight. *Magnus Reidman* was nothing affeared of this Disadvantage, but rather boldened and kindled up with greater Ire than became a wise Chiftain, pressed forward, with a Company of chosen Men that were his principal Servants and Guard, upon *Craigie-Wallace*, thinking to overset him: But his Enterprize was in vain; for the *Scottish*-Men invironed round about him so keenly, that, with small Difficulty, they slew him cruelly, and all his Guard. The rest of the *English*-Men had no better Fortune. When the Clamour rose among the *Scottish*-Men, that *Magnus Reidman* was slain, the *English* Chiftain, in whom all *English*-Men put their whole Hope and Confidence of their Welfare and Felicity; there came such Dreadour and Fear upon them, that they might no longer sustain the Press of the *Scottish*-Men; but gave Backs: Upon whom our Men followed very sharply. Many were slain at the Thick of the Battle, but many more on the Flight. For the Water, being swoln up with the Filling of the Sea, caused many to lose their Lives. Others seeing this, and doubting whether they should fight and die with Honour, or flee with Shame, were cruelly slain upon the Water-Banks. This Battle was foughten with great Cruelty. There were slain in it three thousand *English*, and the Governor in the Vanguard, and eleven other Noblemen, Knights of the Order; and of the *Scottish*-Men more than six hundred. There were taken in this Battle, *John Penneyton* and *Robert Harrington*, two noble *English* Knights; and also the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Son (by whose Convoy his Father was horsed, and escaped his Enemies) was taken, and a great Number of others, and were brought Captives in *Scotland*. There was such Abundance of Riches, Silver and Gold, gotten in this Field, that never was the like seen in no Man's Time before. The Spoilzy was parted among the *Scottish*-Men, after the Rate of Arms. *Craigie-Wallace* was deadly wounded in the Field, and died the third Month thereafter.

THE Earl of *Ormond*, after this Victory, returned Home with great Triumph, and imprisoned the principal Captains in *Lochnabane*. After this

this he was treated and banquetted by the King's Majesty with great Magnificence. It is said, during the Time of the Banquet, the King made a Harangue to him, and *William Earl of Douglas*, his Brother, saying, *Now, my Lords, I beseech your Lordships to remember how happily all Things have succeeded to you, and what Honour cometh through wife and sage Counsel, by the high Felicity and Renown that chance to all Subjects, when they are ruled gladly under the Obedience of one King or Prince; and, by the contrary, what Mischief befalls them that run over Head to any Purpose, without Regard or Foresight to God or Man. It becometh all Favourers of Commonwealths to conquest all Men that are Neighbours to be their Friends, and to shew themselves, with all their Strength, strong Enemies, when they are urged to Battle with their Foes: For, in so doing, the Prince has Pleasure to rule and govern, and the Subjects live in Peace, and rest free from the Injuries of their Enemies, and Tyranny of Oppressors. It is known, That the Condition and Fashion of all the Douglasses, since the Beginning, hath been in this ways, and yet is, and, as I suppose, to be in Time coming. Without doubt there is nothing so dear and pleasant to me as Nobleman of the Blood of Douglas, whilk I favour, above all Things, intirely with my Heart; so that ye would shew yourselves no worse minded in the Correction of Thieves and Murderers, than ye have proven valiant, both first and last, for the Defence and Welfare of this Realm: For if Thieves and Murderers be not punished, the poor Ones and the Commons can have no Life, who are the very Uphold of the Nobles, and who perchance are your own Kindred and Blood; albeit, through base Estates, they be degenerate; and, being Christians, are participant of the Favour of God, and Obedience of the same Prince to whom ye are: Therefore I exhort you to proceed in the Renown and Fame which ye and your Forebeers have conquest in Times past.*

WHEN the King had said this, the said Earls thanked his Majesty with great Reverence, promising to persevere in all Things as he had commanded, and never to thole Theft, Reif nor Slaughter unpunished, in Time to come; nor yet any Kind of Injuries nor Offences, committed against rich or poor, to let the same pass unrevenged. So thir Noblemen took their Leave, and passed Home to their Wives and Bairns, convoyed with their Kindred and Friends, with great Triumph, Mirth and Gladness. After this the Lords of *Scotland* stood a long Time in greater Quietness than was before.

BUT when the Word of this sorrowful Battle came to *London*, it made all the Nobles and People of the Country wondrous afraid; yet, that they should not seem to be altogether dejected of their wonted Courage, they decreed in Parliament, to revenge this great Slaughter made lately in the Battle of *Sark*. But when they gathered an Army to send in *Scotland*, well-furnished with Viſual, and all Kind of Munition and Vivvers, there arose suddenly a vile Diffension and Discord among themselves, whereof the like was never heard nor seen before. The Duke of *York*, the Earls of *March*, *Warwick* and *Sarisbury*, with many other great Nobles of the Realm, conspired against this *Henry VI.* wherefore they  
dissembled

dissembled their Ire with the *Scottish*-Men to a more convenient Time. And look, how busy they were to vex us with Battle, being at Quietness and Rest; so they were as careful to procure our Peace, being troubled with Wars amongst themselves; and sent an Ambassador to entreat Peace with the King of *Scotland*, who, by the Advice of the Nobles, granted the same for three Years; thinking it was not convenient to refuse it, seeing the *English* Attemptions were punished in their Hand in the last Battle.

IN this same Year, Sir *Richard Colvil* Knight set upon *James Auchinleck*, a near Friend to the Earl of *Douglas*, and slew him, with diverse of his Friends; because he had sustained sundry Injuries and Wrongs of this *James*, and had never made Redress thereof, notwithstanding that the said *Richard* had required him sundry and diverse Times to the same Effect. But the Earl of *Douglas* took such high Indignation at the Slaughter of his Friends, that he made the solemn Oath, never to cease till he was revenged thereof; and so he gathered a Company of Men, and first herried all the Lands pertaining to the said *Colvil*, and thereafter sieged the said Castle where he was, whilk soon was won; and the said *Richard*, and all them that were therein, slain, and the House spoiled. There were many in the Country that commended the Earl of *Douglas*'s Enterprize, for the Revenging of his Friend's Quarrel, if he had been so diligent in pursuing of Murderers, Thieves and Revers that injured and oppressed the poor Commons without Ruth or Pity. But many had good Expectation, that this Tyranny should sometime have an End, that vexed them all Times so cruelly. At the last the Earl being so enriched, both through his own great Rents, and Buddes conquest in the Court, and also through the great Extortion of the poor People, and by the great Importance that befel him through the Overseeing of the Thieves and Murderers, he took Purpose to visit other Countries to advance his Greatness; in so far he thought no Man could be worthy, within this Realm, to behold his vain Prodigality. So *John Douglas* Lord *Balveny*, a Man most to his Conditions of any Creature, being constitute Procurator and Overseer of all Affairs belonging to him in *Scotland*, in his Absence; and also all necessary Things being prepared according to his Estate, took Voyage towards *Flanders*, being accompanied with his Brother Mr. *James Douglas*, a Man of singular Erudition, and well beseen in Divine Letters, brought up long Time in *Paris* at the Schools, and looked for the Bishoprick of *Dunkel*, and thereafter for the Earldom of *Douglas*: For this Earl, being so long married, having no Bairns, was desperate to have procreate or gotten any Children in Times coming. There were in the Company many other Knights and Nobles, among whom were the Knights and Lords of *Hamilton*, *Graham*, *Saltoun*, *Sea-toun* and *Oliphant*, Men of great Fame and Estimation. There were others of meaner Estate, such as *Calder*, *Urquhart*, *Campbel*, *Forrester*, *Lawder*, all Knights and Gentlemen. Whose Convoy made this Earl so proud and insolent, that he represented a King's Magnificence wherever he came. Out of *Flanders* he passed in *France*; and out of *France* to *Italy*, and so forward to *Rome*: But the *Romans* having Knowledge of his Coming, met him with a honourable Company, and received him very princely within the Town.

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BUT, within two Months after his Departure, some of the Nobles envying the Earl of *Douglas's* Promotion with great Rents and Dominions, and others oppressed by his Tyranny, began to delate his prideful Ambition and Disdaining of the People, and high Offences sustained by every Man, in Time of his great Credit at Court : But many, seeing Place given to Men that would plainzie, began, Day by Day, more and more to complain upon his Tyranny ; but the King, as it became a wise Prince, gave no sudden Credit in this Earl's Absence.

YET, notwithstanding, the King thought it expedient to send a Herald to summond *John Lord Balweny*, Procurator to the Earl of *Douglas*, as said is, to answer to such Complaints as were given in upon himself, his chief Kindred and Friends : But, seeing he was something stubborn to obey the Command and Charge given to him, the King's Majesty commanded a Company of Men of War to bring him in against his Will. At which Time some perswaded the King to handle him rigorously, since he had once begun ; otherwise every Villain should contemn the King's Acts, they seeing no hasty Punishment for Disobedience. But the King, nothing moved with thir Sayings, thought not best to punish such Things in his Anger, but rather to repair all Things gently, lest that, if he would have been rigorous, there should come greater Inconveniencies and Calamities upon the Commonwealth ; and so caused accuse him, and speir at him, *What Excuse he had to repel such Points of Dittay and Injuries as were laid to the Earl of Douglas's Charge, and others of his Counsel and Dependence.* Which Points, when he could not goodly colour them, he put himself in the King's Will ; who charged him to restore every one his own after, as he might get Time and Opportunity : Yet, so soon as he eschewed on this Ways, and was free of the King's Hands, he kept never a Word that he promised, for the repairing of such Offences, as he was commanded, following the Counsel of the Earls of *Ormond* and *Murray* ; who, albeit they durst not openly, yet they suborned him quietly to Disobedience ; and as other wicked Flatterers, to whom civil Diffension was ever pleasant, for by it they thought they had a voluptuous Life ; and, on the contrary, nothing was so odious to them as Peace and Rest.

THE King, hearing of this Pridefulness, caused the Earl of *Orkney*, Chancellor for the Time, to pass in *Galloway* and *Clydesdale*, and gather up all the Rents in these Parts to the King's Profits, and to make Collectors to that Effect ; attour to give every Man Command, in these Countries, to refund the Injuries and Skaiths done by them before, and to eschew from all offending of their Neighbours in Time coming. But when the Earl of *Orkney* passed to *Douglasdale* and *Galloway* to the Effect foresaid, accompanied with a small Number of Folks, not only was he disobeyed in his Charges, but also mocked and injured by the Earl of *Douglas's* Friends and Familiars.

THE King, being provoked by this to high Anger and Wrath, caused summon, by a Herald, all Men whatsoever, of high or low Degree, pertaining or favouring a *Douglas*, to underly the Law, and to declare



declare the Difobeyers the King's Rebels; whose Tyranny he thought to repress with Fire and Sword: So the King, accompanied with an Army, past to *Galloway*; at whose Coming the Thieves and Murderers fled to Strong-Holds and Strenghts for Safety of their Lives: But the King sent a great Part of his Army to pursue them, who were repulſed very contumeliously. At the which the King took ſuch great Anger, that he ſieged all the Fortreffes and Caſtles; amongſt whom he wan the Caſtle of *Lochmabane* and *Douglas*; and becauſe the Caſtle of *Douglas* was ſo difficile to win, he cauſed caſt down the ſame to the Ground; but *Lochmabane* was garniſhed with Men of War, and not caſten down, becauſe it was haſtily rendred. And albeit he took fundry in his Favour after they were rendred in his Will, yet he dealt their Lands, Goods and Gear to their Creditors and Complainers, till they were ſatiſfied of the Things taken from them, whereof the Miſdoers were convicted.

THE King, notwithstanding of this Rebellion and Diſobedience, was not more cruel in the puniſhing thereof, than he was at the Beginning. At laſt, when this was ſhewn to the Earl of *Douglas*, being at *Rome*, it made him to be afraid, and thereafter took Purpoſe, with all Diligence, to come Home to *Scotland*; but far from the Magnificence he paſſed away with: For how ſoon this Word came to their Ears, they parted fundry Ways, ſome came through *Flanders*, and ſome through *France*. The Earl got ſafe Conduſt to paſs through *England*: But when he was marching near the *Scottiſh* Borders, he ſent Mr. *James* his Brother before him to the King's Maſteſty, to know the King's Mind towards him. The King ſeeing this young Gentleman ſo obedient, entreating his Brother's Peace, received him very homely, ſaying, *He deſired nothing more of the Earl of Douglas in Time coming, but that he would puniſh Murderers, Thieves and Robbers, in theſe Parts where he bore Authority and Rule, namely in Anandale.*

THE Earl of *Douglas*, after this, came Home himſelf, and was received right heartfully by the King, and was remitted of all Things bygone: Wherefore he promiſed faithfully to rule all Things within his Bounds at the King's Command and Pleaſure; and then he received all Fortalices and Strenghts again out of the Hands of the King's Men of War; and thereafter was holden in ſuch great Eſtimation and Favour by the King, that he was made Lieutenant-General of the Realm: But he ſtood not long in this Credit; for fragil Fortune changeth the Conceits of Men in ſuch Manner, that they ſtand but ſhort While at one Purpoſe. So ſhortly after he paſſed to ſpeak with the King of *England*, without Knowledge of the King of *Scotland*, his own Prince, as he alledged, for the Reparation of fundry Skaiths and Damages, ſuſtained by the frequent Incurſions of the *Engliſh*-Men of before. But the King of *Scotland* was greatly commoved through his Paſſage into *England*; not only he himſelf lightlied by the Earl of *Douglas*, but alſo he thought ſome quiet Draught to be drawn betwixt the Earl of *Douglas* and the King of *England*, to his great Diſhonour and Offence.

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THIS Earl foresaid being in *England*, and understanding the King of *Scotland*, his Master, to know of all his quiet Doings, took Purpose, and came right humbly to the King's Grace, seeking Pardon for his Fault, promising solemnly never to commit so great an Offence in Time coming ; for whom the Queen and Nobles made great Request to forgive him. The King, being moved by their Desire, received him again in Favour, as he was before ; but deprived him of all his Offices, and discharged him of any Administration thereof ; and therefore placed the Earl of *Orkney* and Sir *William Crichton* in the Offices, who were at all Times true, faithful and obedient Subjects. The Earl of *Douglas* was so highly offended herewith, that he hated all the King's Counsellors as his deadly Enemies ; and specially Sir *William Crichton*, for old Fead betwixt them. Attour, some flattering Courtiers feigned to the Earl of *Douglas*, that they heard Sir *William Crichton*, when he was talking among his Friends, saying, *I vow openly, That the King did not his Office like a true and faithful Prince, not only that he tholed the Earl of Douglas to escape with his Life unpunished, but also reconciled such an unhappy Man to his Favour so oft again, who did deserve a thousand Deaths for his wicked Tyranny.* And said moreover, *That it had been good for the Commonwealth of Scotland, that the Earl of Douglas, with his whole Kindred and Friends, had been rooted out, and their Memory clean stamped away ; otherwise, if this be not done, so long as he or any of them lives, he was assured, That neither the King shall reign long in Peace and Rest above this Realm ; nor yet the Subjects obey to his Acts, as becomes a Commonwealth guided with Laws and Justice.*

THE Earl of *Douglas*, hearing this, gave oversoon Credit to wicked false Reports of an idle Lown, that had no other Shift to conquests his Living with, except vain Trattils, to sow Discord among Noblemen : But yet he suppressed his ireful Mind, and counselled with his Friends, how and what Way he should destroy Sir *William Crichton* : For if he were cut off and slain, he thought it but little Difficulty to obtain the King's Favour, with all the Offices that he had before. So, through the vain Words of this unhappy Flatterer, there kindled a Fire that was not able to be flocked in no Man's Time living in their Days. At last the Earl of *Douglas* being advertised, by some Spies, That Sir *William Crichton* had set a Day to come to *Edinburgh*, thought to put his unhappy Purpose to Execution : And, to that Effect, he suborned some bloody Tyrants to ly in wait in a quiet Place, nearhand by his Gate, awatching for his Slaughter. Upon the Morn, early in the Morning, Sir *William Crichton* knowing no such Thing of this Watching for his Destruction, chanced near by this same Place where the Butchers lay ; who brake about him with such a Reird and Clamour ; that he, knowing no such Thing, was all utterly abased and afraid : But, being admonished by his Son, a young valiant Man, with some others his Friends, to remember upon his old wonted Courage, and not to take Fear, seeing it was Force either to fight or flee ; and as the Proverb is, *Fortune helps the Hardy, but no Remeid can be found for Feebleness* ; he defended so valiantly, till one of thir Brigands was slain, and another deadly wounded ; and, at the last, seeing he might not

not make his Party good, he took the Flight with his Fellows toward the Castle of *Crighstown*, for Safety of their Lives; and so escaped the Danger. But that was not long unrecompensed; for he gathered a great Company of his Friends and Assisters, and came forward toward *Edinburgh* to be revenged upon the Earl of *Douglas*, Deviser of the foresaid Ruffle, who was remaining there with a small Multitude accompanied, without any Suspicion of Sir *William Crighton's* Gathering: And therefore it was Force to him to leave the Town, and flee to save himself, or else, without Doubt, to be in Peril of his Life, with all them that were in his Company.

THIR mutual Injuries and despiteful Conceits, moved on every Side, exasperated both the Parties in others Ire and Hatred, that the one of them appeared suddenly to bring the other to utter Destruction and Ruin. Through this Dissension the Realm was divided in two Parts and Factions.

BUT yet the Earl of *Douglas* bearing very heavily that he was so shamefully put out of the Town, by the deceitful Gathering of his Enemy; attour, fearing that the King was not forgetful of so many Offences done in Time bygone, and therethrough would be more favourable to Sir *William Crighton* than to him, he thought to bind a League with such Nobles as would be Party; yea, and far above, if it come to the worst, both to his Unfriends, and to the King himself, if he would declare himself in his contrary: And therefore sent quiet Messages to his Friends, and specially to the Earls of *Crawford*, *Ross* and *Murray*, to assist and debate against such Dangers and Invasions as presently appeared to fall upon him: Which being gladly granted (for all thir Men hated, as one, Sir *William Crighton*, with the rest of the Courtiers that were in Credit with the King, without any Hope of Reconciliation) there was a Confederation made betwixt thir Earls and their Friends, with a solemn Oath, That the Injuries done to any of them, or the sobereft of them, or their Adherents, should be equal Quarrel to them all, contrary whatsoever Men in or forth of this Realm; and to spend their Lives, Lands and Gear to the Revenge of the same.

THROUGH this Covenant the Earl of *Douglas* grew so proud and insolent, that they boasted in all Parts, wherever they came, to have the Rule and Guiding of the Realm against all Mens Will, and to have their Enemies utterly exterminate. But this ambitious and vain Vaunting was not, pleasant in the Sight of God: For vain Pride and Ambitiousness cometh never of God, but allenarly of the Devil, who is the Master of Pride.

IN the mean Time the King began of new to hate the House of *Douglas*, because of their Ambitiousness. Another Cause there was; because some Thieves of *Douglasdale* had herried all the Lands pertaining to *John Heres* a Nobleman, and faithful Subject to the King's Majesty at all Times; whereof when this *Heres* had oft and diverse Times complained, and sought Redress thereof from the Earl of *Douglas*, and could

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never get Remeid, he took Purpose to recompence the same Wrong, because he got no Justice. But this Attempt succeeded very unhappily ; for, in the Herrying of *Anandale*, he was taken with his Complices, and brought to the Earl of *Douglas*, where he was casten in Irons, and thereafter hanged shamefully as he had been a Thief, notwithstanding the King's Commandment in the contrary, and other Messages sent to that Effect.

THE King took very heavy with this high Contempt, but suppressed it for the Time. Attour, the poor People were so overcome and burdened with importable Charges, that there was no Life for them ; and yet, notwithstanding, they durst not plainzie nor lament their own Misery in thir troublous Times ; and therefore, Day by Day, Mischiefe began more and more to increase. Other Noblemen, that were full of Substance, had no Will of Discord, but abhorred all utterly thir civil Wars rising among themselves, and lamented quietly thir Dangers and Calamities, which lay not within their Power to quench. This Mischiefe daily increased so much, that all Men took Suspicion, that thir Earls of *Douglas*, *Crawford*, *Murray* and *Ross*, with their Assisters, which was the greatest Part of the Realm, should hastily depose the King out of his Authority : Which Suspicion being shewn to the King, he took great Fear thereof ; for he knew well, that their Faction was as potent ( if they were not more potent ) than himself.

AT this mean Time the Earl of *Douglas* cast himself for to be stark against the King ; and therefore sought and perswaded all Men, under his Opinion and Servitude, and in special the Gentlemen of *Galloway*, with *Coile*, *Carrick* and *Cunningham*, and all other Parts that were near adjacent unto him, desiring them daily to ride and go with him, as his own Household-Men and Servants, and to assist him in all Things whatsoever he had ado, whether it was right or wrong, with the King, or against him. But some other wise Men seeing the Danger appearing of the Earl of *Douglas*'s Proceedings contrary the King and his Authority, therefore would not assist him, nor take Part with him, nor ride nor gang with him, nor be his Man. Among the rest of thir there was one called *Macclellan*, who was Tutor of *Bomby* for the Time, and Sister's Son to Sir *Patrick Gray*, who was Master of *Gray*, and principal Servitor to the King, and Captain of his Guard. This *Macclellan*, for Love he bore to the King's Grace, and to the Ministration of Justice, would, on no ways, serve and ride with the Earl of *Douglas*, contrary the King and his Authority, nor yet to oppress the Commonwealth of the Country, but kept him quietly within his Bounds, doing no Man Wrong. The Earl of *Douglas* seeing this, that this Man would not serve him as he desired, came hastily unto his House with a great Number of Men, and sieged it, and wan it, and took him out of the same, and had him to the Castle of *Douglas*, and cast him there in strait Prison. His Friends, seeing this, passed to the Court to Sir *Patrick Gray*, to shew him the Manner thereof, how it stood with his Sister's Son. The which when Sir *Patrick Gray* heard the Novels, he was heavily displeased at the Matter, and passed hastily to the King, and shewed him the Manner how it stood with

with his Sister's Son, desiring the King's Grace for to deliver him his Sister's Son, which the Earl of *Douglas* had in Captivity and Prison for the Time. The King granted very thankfully the same, and caused write a sweet Letter of Supplication to the Earl of *Douglas*, for to deliver the Tutor of *Bomby* to Sir *Patrick Gray*, his Eame.

THIS Writing being subscribed and signeted with the King's Signet, thereafter delivered to Sir *Patrick Gray*, to use the same as he thought Cause; who passed hastily, with the said Writing and Supplication of the King, to the Earl of *Douglas*, who was then in the Castle of *Douglas*, for the Time, sitting at his Dinner; and hearing told that Sir *Patrick Gray*, the King's familiar Servant, was lighted at the Gate, the Earl marvelled much at the Matter, what that should mean, and caused incontinent draw the Boards, and rose and met the said Sir *Patrick* with great Reverence and Humility, because he was the King's principal Captain, and secret Servant and Familiar to his Grace; therefore the Earl received him with more Thanks: But all was under Colour and Deceit; for the Earl had no Favour to the King, nor to any of his Familiars; yet he enquired at the said *Patrick*, if he had dined. Who answered, he had not. Then the Earl of *Douglas* said, There was no Talk to be had betwixt a full Man and a fasting; therefore you shall dine, and we shall talk together at Length.

IN this mean Time Sir *Patrick Gray* sat down to his Dinner, and the Earl treated him, and made him good Chear, whereof Sir *Patrick Gray* was well contented, believing all Things to succeed well thereafter. But the Earl of *Douglas*, on the other Part, took a Suspicion and Conjecture what Sir *Patrick Gray*'s Commission was, and dreading the Desire thereof should be for his Friend, the Tutor of *Bomby*; therefore, in the mean Time, when they were at the Dinner, talking of merry Matters, the Earl caused quietly take forth the Tutor of *Bomby* out of Prison, and have him to the Green, and there struck off his Head, and took the same away from him, and lyne covered a fair Cloath on his Body, that nothing might be seen of that treasonable Act that was done.

IN this mean Time, when Dinner was done, Sir *Patrick Gray* presented the King's Writing unto the Earl, who reverently received it; and, when he had read it, and considered the Effect thereof, he gave great Thanks to Sir *Patrick Gray*, saying, *He was beholden to him, that brought so familiar a Writing from his Prince to him, considering how it stood between them at that Time: And as to the Desire and Supplication, it should be thankfully granted to the King; and the rather for Sir Patrick's Sake.* And took him by the Hand, and led him forth to the Green, where the Gentleman was lying dead, and shewed him the Manner, and said, *Sir Patrick, you are come a little too late; but yonder is your Sister's Son lying, but he wants the Head. Take his Body, and do with it what you will.* Sir *Patrick* answered again with a sore Heart, and said, *My Lord, if ye have taken from him his Head, dispone upon the Body as ye please.* And with that called for his Horse, and leaped thereon; and when he was on Horseback, he said to the Earl on this Manner,

*Manner, My Lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded for your Labours, that you have used at this Time, according to your Demerits.*

AT this Saying the Earl was highly offended, and cried for Horſe. Sir *Patrick* ſeeing the Earl's Fury, ſpurred his Horſe ; but he was chaſed near to *Edinburgh* ere they left him ; and had it not been his lead Horſe was ſo tried and good, he had been taken. But when thir News came to King, he was heavily diſcontented therewith, both of the Slaughter, then of the Chaſing of his Servant. To that Effect the King called his ſecret Council to adviſe hereupon, what was beſt to be done for to danton this wicked Man, that could no ways be ſtenched from Reif, Oppreſſion and Slaughter, both of great Men and ſmall. The Council adviſed and concluded, That it was beſt to flatter him, and to bring him in to the Council by fair Heights and Promiſes ; and, in the mean Time, to puniſh him according to his Demerit. So the King made him to forget all Faults and Enormities done by the Earl of *Douglas* in Times bypaſt, deſiring nothing of him, but that he would be a good Man in Time coming ; and, for that Cauſe, deſired him affectuouſly to come to the Council, making him ſure, with all Promiſes, that he ſhould be ſafely pardoned. Some ſay he got the great Seal thereunto, ere he would grant to come to the King.

THEN the Earl of *Douglas* came at the King's Commandment to *Stirling*, where he was well received and entertained by the King, who thereafter called him to the Supper, and banquetted him very royally, thinking, that if it might be poſſible, either with Gentleneſs or good Deed, to withdraw him from his Attempts that he purpoſed to do. At the laſt, after Supper, the King called the Earl of *Douglas* to a ſecret Chamber, and put all Men aſide, except ſo many as were upon the ſecret Council, and his own Guard ; and there ſaid to him very meekly and gently, as it had been a ſober Offence that was yet committed, *It is given me to underſtand, my Lord, ſays the King, That there is, betwixt you and the Earl of Crawford, and ſome other Nobles, ſome Band and Confederation made. I pray you therefore to break ſuch Bands, Leagues, and Societies, that are not wont to be within a Realm under one Prince, by his Authority and Command ; and that ye would be ſo good as to remove all ſuch Occaſion as may cauſe the Subjects of this Realm to take Suſpicion of your evil Mind toward me. As to my ſelf, I know no Evil, nor believe none of you ; yet it is very unſeeming to do any ſuch Things as are not conſonant to the Laws of this Realm, and Pleaſure of the King's Lieges : For doubtleſs it cannot be without great Slander of the People, nor yet without the Prince's Hatred, to commit ſuch Things as ſhall cauſe the People live without Order, through evil Example ; by the whilk the Realm ſhall be evil abuſed by every Man, even as they were a People without Law or Juſtice.*

THIS being ſaid, with many other pleaſant Words, which are impoſſible to rehearſe, the Earl of *Douglas*, nothing moved with the King's Humanity, answered again very pridefully, ſaying, *That he could not break the Band that was made, nor would he diſcharge the ſame for*  
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*no Man's Sayings ; and that for the great Offences the King had done to him ; reproaching the King very arrogantly, that he had reproved him of all his Offences : Yet, notwithstanding of his proud Answer, the King exhorted him to do nothing that was degenerate from the Nobility of his Forebeers ; for that was very wicked that he had begun, and was a sufficient Cause to tyne his Life, Lands and Goods, and deserving Forfaultry, and his Memory to be abolished and stramped forth for ever. At the last, the King seeing that he could not prevail with Fairness ; and also dreading, That, through so prideful Answers, worse should have followed thereupon than was bruited of before, unless hasty Remedy were found ; and so he took a high Anger, and thought to do the Thing that was less Scaith to the Commonwealth, than to trouble the whole Realm therewith ; and so he pulled forth a Sword, and said, *I see well, my Lord, my Prayer cannot prevail to cause you desist from your wicked Counsel and Enterprizes, I shall cause all your wicked Conspiracies to cease.* Thereafter immediately he struck him through the Body with the Sword ; and thereafter the Guard, hearing the Tumult within the Chamber, rushed in, and slew the Earl out of Hand. This Slaughter was in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and fifty two Years, the twentieth Day of *February* : Which is to be lamented, That a Prince should be so tempted by his own Subjects, after so many godly and wise Exhortations.*

At this Time there was, in the Town of *Stirling*, many of the Earl of *Douglas's* Friends, with his Brother *James*, the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Ormond*, the Lord *Balveny*, the Knight of *Kedyow*, *James Hamilton*, a Man of great Estimation among the Nobles of the Realm, with many other great Gentlemen, very potent both of Riches and Friends. Thir Gentlemen, how soon Word came to them, That the Earl was slain, they remained there that Night ; and, upon the Morn, they put *James Douglas* in his Brother's Place, as was ordained by the Earl before ; who made a long Harangue and Exhortation to his Friends to siege the Castle, and to revenge the unworthy Slaughter of his Brother, with the King's Life. But when they saw it was impossible to do, seeing they had no Munition fitting for this Effect, the Castle being so strong, they gave the King very contumelious Words, saying, *That they should never obey nor know him again as a King or Prince, but should be revenged upon him and his cruel Tyranny, or ever they ceased.*

AFTER this they burnt and herried the Town of *Stirling*, and all such other Lands that belonged either to the King, or yet to them that would not profess their Faction, they wasted with Fire and Sword. Amongst the which, the whole Lands and Town of *Dalkeith* were destroyed, and the Castle thereof belted about with a strong Siege, and made there a solemn Oath, never to pass therefrom unto the Time it were equal with the Ground. For *James* hated and envied *John Lord Dalkeith*, his Friend and Kinsman, above all other Traitors ; and that because he was both of his Kindred and Sirname, and yet had refused to assist his Attempts and Enterprizes. This Siege lasted longer than the Siegers believed ; for the Men within defended valiantly, till their Un-

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friends, irked by so long Waking, Hunger, and other Troubles, and the great Slaughter of many of their Folks, and sundry wounded so cruelly, that they were constrained to leave off their Purpose ; and so they dissolved the Seige.

THE King, being highly offended with their arrogant Attempts, gathered an Army to punish thir Conspirators for their temarious Enterprizes ; but when he saw he could not have the upper Hand upon them, as, without Doubt, he might not make his Party good against so great an Army, he left his Intention till a better Time.

IN the mean Time, when he was looking for the Coming of *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, whom he had charged by a Herauld, and also requested very affectuously to come in his Defence, the said *Alexander*, obedient at the King's Command, coming forward with a great Army for the King's Support, his Gate was overset by *Alexander* Earl of *Crawford*, who was already declared the King's Rebel and Traitor for Lese-Majesty, because he contemned the King's Authority and Impyre, being summoned by an Officer of Arms to underly the Law. The Earl of *Crawford* assembled a great Company of his Allies, Kindred and Friends, with the whole Folks of *Angus* ; and thereafter, when the Earl of *Huntley* was marching towards *Angus*, the Earl of *Crawford* camped his Folks beside the Town of *Breckin* ; where both the Armies, coming in others Sight, rushed forward in arrayed Battle upon other. It was long foughten with great Cruelty and uncertain Victory, till that a Company of fresh Men came to renew the Battle, taking the Advantage of the Know-Side, who came so fiercely on the Earl of *Huntley*'s Vanguard, that they were compelled to settle a little back ; the which when the *Angus*-Men perceived that they were put back, and having Advantage, they came more fiercely upon them than they did before, and namely upon the Place foreft charged. But, in the mean Time, a Captain of the Earl of *Crawford*'s, to wit, *John Colless* of *Bonymoon*, who had in Governance three hundred able Men, well armed, and bore Battle-Axes and Halberts, with other sharp Weapons. This *John Colless* fled from the Earl of *Crawford* traiterously, and caused others to flee with him, wherethrough he tint the Field : And because this Laird desired his Son to be put in Fie of his Lands, who were holden of the Earl of *Crawford*, with other *Commodity* and *Gains*, that this Laird desired at the Earl of *Crawford*'s Hands ; who answered him and said, *The Time was short* ; but bade him do well that Day with him, and prove a valiant Man, and he should have all his Desire and more : But the Laird of *Bonymoon*, not contented with this Answer, passed from him with a Grief, and arrayed his Men, and put them in Order, as he would have foughten most furiously ; but when he saw his Time come, that he should have rescued the Earl of *Crawford*, who was fighting then cruelly, the said Captain drew himself aside cowardly, and made no Support to the said Earl ; who, seeing his Men departing from him treasonably, by Command and Convoy of this Captain, he was constrained to flee for Safety of his Life. And albeit the Victory inclined to the Earl of *Huntley*, yet he got not the same without great Slaughtre of his Folks ; for two of his own Brethren were



were slain, with sundry other Gentlemen and Yeomen. There was slain upon the Earl of *Crawford's* Side, Sir *John Lindesay* Knight, his Brother, with many other Gentlemen, whereof had been great Pity, if they had been in a better Quarrel. So the Earl of *Crawford* being overcome in this Battle, it is said, That a Gentleman followed so fiercely upon the Chase, that he drew him in the Midst of the Press of the Earl of *Crawford's* Folks, that were gathered to be his Safe-guard in the Midst of the Flight; and so was compelled to pass with them, as he had been a Man of their own, to the Place of *Finhaven*, where he heard the Earl say, *That he wished to be seven Years in Hell, to have the honourable Victory that had fallen to the Earl of Huntley that Day, considering the great Favour that he had conquest of his Prince, for his Relief, and repressing of Rebels.* Upon the Morn thereafter all the dead Bodies were buried, ilk one after their own Estate; and albeit the Earl was overcome, as said is, yet he remained still in the Country of *Angus*, as he did before, and pursued all them that were not of his Faction with great Cruelty, wasting their Lands with Fire and Sword; and namely them that had fled from him in the Battle, spoiling them of their Lives and Goods, as they might be apprehended, and cast down their Houses to the Ground. This Battle was stricken upon the *Ascension-Day*, in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and fifty three Years.

IN this mean Time, while the Earl of *Huntley* was occupied, on this Manner, for the Liberty of the Realm, the Earl of *Murray* entred into the Lands of *Strawbogie*, and burnt the Corns, and herried the Country, and all other Lands pertaining to the Earl of *Huntley*. Which was not long unrequited: For how soon he was victorious over the common Enemies of the Realm, he invaded the Lands of *Murray* with greater Cruelty, Slaughter and Herryship, than was done in his Bounds and Lands. At whose Coming the Earl of *Murray*, with his Friends and Clients, took such Fear, by Reason of the recent Victory, that it behoved him to flee the Country for Safe-guard of his Life. It is said, That the Earl of *Huntley* came to the Town of *Forefs*, and burnt up all the one Side of the Town, by Reason it appertained to the Earl of *Murray* his Kindred and Friends; but spared the other Side thereof, by Reason that a great Part of it pertained to his Favourers and Goodwillers.

SHORT While thereafter the King caused set a Parliament, by the Counsel of *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, where the Decreet of Forfalter, led against the Earl of *Crawford* before, was newly approved and ratified again, and his Goods and Gear confiscate, and Lands dealt, himself declared Traitor for his Rebellion, and his Memory abolished, and scraped out of the Book of Arms for ever. And also *James* Earl of *Douglas*, the Earls of *Murray* and *Ormond*, *John* Lord of *Balveny*, *James Hamilton* of that Ilk, Knight, foresaid, with diverse other landed Gentlemen, were summoned to the Parliament to a certain Day, to underly the Law for certain Crimes as were to be laid to their Charges. But this was in vain; for none of them thought to make Obedience or Compearance: And also, upon the Night after they were summoned, some

some Explorators were sent to the Town of *Edinburgh*, to spy the Form and Fashion of all their Proceedings ; who, at their Masters Commands, affix'd Plackets upon the Kirks-Doors, sealed with the Earl's own Hand and Signet, bearing thir Words, in Effect, *The Earl of Douglas will neither obey Command nor Charge in Time coming, by Reason the King was but a bloody Murderer of his own Blood, and Breaker of the Law of Hospitality, a false ungodly Thirster for innocent Blood, without a just Quarrel or Occasion* ; with many other contumelious Sayings, unworthy to rehearse.

THE King getting Wit of this Thing, he took such high Disdain, that he gathered a Company of armed Men to invade this prideful Tyrant ; and, because it was the dead Time of the Year, he could do nothing for the Repairing of his Honour, except that he burnt the Corns and Houses, herried the Countries, and slew some Spies. He returned Home again, and deferred his Purpose till the Spring of the Year : But yet the Earl, with his Assisters, took little heed of all this Her ship and Slaughter, but were as insolent as they had never been afflicted with such Misfortunes. And moreover, that the Lands, Rents and Riches, pertaining to his umquhile Brother, should not come in the Hand of foreign Men, the Earl of *Douglas* sent to the Pope, for a Dispensation to marry his Brother's Wife, to whom a great Part of the Lands fell, through the Decease of her said umquhile Husband, beside the Lands that appertained to her in Heritage, which he could no Manner of Way obtain ; and therefore, without Law, or Respect to God or a good Conscience, he took and married his Brother's Wife, to the Effect foresaid.

IN the Spring of the Year thereafter, this intestine War, within the Bowels of this Commonweal, began to increase ay more and more ; and so continued two Years ; during the which Time, the *Douglasses* burnt and herried all Lands pertaining to the King and his Assisters ; and also to them that were not plain on his Faction. And, upon the other Side, the King and his Assisters were very loath to use such Cruelty for their Recompence ; but rather, to break their Enemies prideful Arrogance, wasted and herried *Anandale, Etrick, Forest*, with other Lands pertaining to the other Faction. At the last the Earl of *Douglas's* special Friends, such as were left on Life, during the said civil Wars, being vexed and irked so long through civil War, and by frequent Her ship drawn to extreme Poverty, gave Counsel to their Chief to leave and desist from his seditious Disobedience, and humbly to desire Pardon of the King's Majesty, and to render himself, without Fraud or Guile, in his Hands, Will and Gentrice, who, of his Honour, appearantly could not deny the same to him ; for if a King will denude himself of all Clemency, Consideration or Pity, then it were a great and manifest Sign and Token of his fearful Dread and Terror to every Man. Attour, they gave the Earl to understand, That the King being so vexed, as appeared to them, through longsome and tedious Travel, taken of the Appeasing of the Commonweal, would be as glad to receive him in his Favour, as he would be to offer himself thereto : And so, not only should he be reconciled to his Prince, but also might conquest the Friendship of many

many others, as principal Ender of all Mischief reigning within this Realm.

W H E N his Friends had said this, with many other perswasive Words, he made Answer, *That he would never put his Life in that Man's Will and Danger, that had put down, first, two in the Castle of Edinburgh that were Brother-Bairns with him; and now, of late, William Earl of Douglas, his own Brother, of whom the like rang never within this Realm: And were not all thir, says he, called very gentle, as Friends, by himself, and by his present Courtiers and Counsellors, to righteous Action, to the Effect thereby the Law of Nature, and Law of Hospitality, they should be even, as it was, destroyed and slain? And if so was, That they were betrayed and slain under the Colour of Entertainment, how much more fearful is it to me to put me in his Danger? So he thought there was but one of two to be chosen, either extreme Chance of Battle, whereby one might have the upper Hand; or else, if they left the Field, and gave over the Enterprize, they should be murdered, slain, or banished, with other intolerable Chances that might befall, to his Derision, Scorn and Skaith, and Shame to his Friends and Kindred. Shortly, there was no middle Way, he thought, that might deliver him out of this present Peril.*

F O R which Sayings many began to leave his mighty Courage in such Adversity. Others not only disallowed his obstinate Mind in such Wickedness, but also reproached the Fortifiers and Allowers of him in such Wickedness and perverse Perseverance: Thinking well (as it was true in deed) that all they that fed him with such Flattery and Disobedience, both towards God and the King, would not continue unto the unhappy End of this Matter, as they promised, to the great Everfion of the Commonwealth, and the destroying of the Prince: For they knew that his Pridfulness could not lack a mischievous End, as might be sufficiently understood, by the Example of such like Men in all Times bygone, both by the *Scottish* and other foreign History. Then, how soon the Earl of *Crawford* understood the Earl of *Douglas's* obstinate and wilful Disobedience, for whose Quarrel he had fallen in such Mischief, he despited his Company, and took Purpose to humble himself, and come in a vile Abuliement to the King, and ask Pardon for the high Offences that he had committed; knowing well, that if he would persevere in his wicked Society and Band, that not only should he, his Kindred and Friends with their Posterity, be put out from all Memory, but also the noble Facts, and martial Deeds of his Forebeers, who, through their good Service, had conquest both the Lands that he possessed presently, and also the King's Favours, with great Commendation and Laud of all Men, should be obscured and forgot for ever.

S O, when the King was passing to the *North Land*, coming through *Angus*, the Earl of *Crawford* came, bareheaded and barefooted, clad as he had been a miserable Cative guilty of a Crime, accused in Judgment, in dolorous and poor Arrayment, to move the Judges and Magistrates to Commiseration and Pity; and so, accompanied with a small Number of Folks, driry in Countenance, he cast him in the King's Gate.

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But, from Hand, so soon as he came before the King's Majesty, with Tears bursting out abundantly, he fell on his Knees ; which being shown to the King, what Man it was, and who they were that were in his Company ; and that the Earl, confident more in the King's Clemency, wherein he had placed his whole Hope of Restitution, than moved with any Fear or Dreadour, had put himself in his Grace's Will and Mercy ; the King bade raise him up, to see wherefore he came, all Fear and Dreadour set aside. Then it is said, that the Earl's Courage being some Part recovered again, dried the Tears from his Eyes, and said to the King in Manner following.

“ I F Transgressors of the Laws and Statutes of the Realm hoped  
 “ for no other Thing at Kings and Princes, having the Rule and Go-  
 “ vernment of others, but that which the Laws decern, most mighty  
 “ Prince, I see no Place left to me this Day for Remission of my Crime ;  
 “ yet, notwithstanding the same, Reason itself perswades me, with good  
 “ Hopes, to come straight to thy Clemency to impetrate Pardon for my  
 “ Offence, even as it were to a sure Anchor, in whose Hands lies the  
 “ Power of Life and Death. I believe Clemency to be the Principal of  
 “ all Royal Duties, and you to have conquest the same, as that becomes  
 “ a King and Prince above all other Virtues : For if my severe Sleuth  
 “ would labour to put away by any Argument, by the same Reason he  
 “ would appear to make away all Occasion of Amendment from them  
 “ that fall sometime from Right and Reason, and so should all Kings  
 “ Virtues be obscured and closed up, and a broad Entry opened forth to  
 “ all Kind of Defection and Iniquity. I grant indeed, That no Man  
 “ should, of his Duty, decline from Right and Reason : But one Thing  
 “ I require, What is he that is in greatest Estimation of the common  
 “ People, in all civil and publick Affairs, that may avow, That he hath  
 “ never faulted against the Laws, either for the Cause of Hatred, Fa-  
 “ vour, Dreadour or Envy ? I believe, forsooth, that no Man can say  
 “ it. It is but casual to a Man to fall in an Offence ; but to amend,  
 “ recognise and condemn his Fault himself, it is a great Gift and Be-  
 “ nefit of God : For it becomes one that is fallen in Error, to which  
 “ every mortal Man is subject, to become penitent, and amend his Life,  
 “ with firm Purpose to eschew the like in Time coming. Wherefore,  
 “ most clement Prince, I am as a weary Man coming to your Majesty  
 “ this Day, granting that I have faulted, and my Conscience, bearing  
 “ Witness, condemns my own Doings ; in so far, That I confess I am  
 “ unworthy to live, unless I be willing myself, on the one Part, to cor-  
 “ rect the former Fashions of my Life ; and, on the other, the great Pity  
 “ of the noble House of *Lindesays* falling in Destruction. But if you  
 “ help it in Time, which should move you to restore me for my Fore-  
 “ bears Cause, even as it were from Death to Life again : For thy  
 “ Clemency, from the which no Man has been repulsed, at any Time,  
 “ that was moved with Good, without Fraud or Guile, to humble them-  
 “ selves thereto, has given me Hardiment to ask Pardon of my Offences  
 “ and Faults. I pray thee therefore, that I may obtain this my Re-  
 “ quest, and that for my Forebears their Truth and Constancy, Care  
 “ and Travel taken by them for Defence of the Realm. And because  
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“ the Beginning of our House, Progress and Genealogy of the same,  
 “ will appear to further me in this Case, I shall declare the same briefly.  
 “ The first Man that was called *Lindesay* was Heritor to many great  
 “ Lands in *England*, which was his proper Sirname, who was banished  
 “ therefrom by the Conquests of the Bastard of *Normandy*; and so came  
 “ in *Scotland* to Queen *Margaret*, in the Time of *Malcolm Canmore*,  
 “ who was received right thankfully for her Cause, because he was the  
 “ nearest and greatest of her Friends at that Time; and, for his victo-  
 “ rious and manly Deeds in defending and maintaining the Common-  
 “ weal of *Scotland*, King *Malcolm* gave him the Lands of *Wacchoobdale*,  
 “ which lie adjacent to *Anandale*, which of that House descended our  
 “ Forebeers, who were afterwards Lords of *Glenesk* and Earls of *Craw-*  
 “ *ford*; and that, by the manly and virtuous Government of our Fore-  
 “ beers and Progenitors, who used themselves so manly and truly to the  
 “ Crown, they were rewarded richly, and got by the great Liberality  
 “ of the Princes of *Scotland*, seeing their victorious Deeds; and, in spe-  
 “ cial, of *Robert II.* who gave us the Lands of *Crawford*, and made us  
 “ Earls thereof, as you may hear thereafter how he succeeded: For  
 “ afterward descended out of our House, a noble House, called, Lord  
 “ *Lindesay* of *The Byres*, who reigns and flourishes in great Fame to  
 “ this Day, in Estimation and Honour with their Prince, and the Au-  
 “ thority; though we have slidden therefrom at this Time. But long  
 “ Time hereafter descended *Alexander Lindesay*, that fought and was  
 “ slain at the Bridge of *Stirling*, right manfully fighting in Company  
 “ with Earl *Thomas Randal*, in Defence of King *Robert the Bruce*,  
 “ contrary the *English*-Men. This *Alexander* begat *Alexander*, who  
 “ was slain at the Battle of *Duplin*, for the Defence and Preservation of  
 “ our young King *David II.* from the Tyranny of his Enemies. Short  
 “ While after this Battle, *David Lindesay* succeeded both to his Fa-  
 “ ther’s Lands, and other great Lordships given to him by the Autho-  
 “ rity, for his Manhood and Service done for the Pleasure of the Crown  
 “ and Commonweal of the Country; for he was slain at *Halidon-Hill*,  
 “ when he was fighting furiously with the *English*-Men, debating the  
 “ Liberty of *Scotland*. *James*, Son to his Brother *John*, succeeded to  
 “ him, who was Lord of *Glenesk*. He fought upon the Bridge of *Lon-*  
 “ *don*, in singular Battle, with the Lord of *Welles*, a strong Champion,  
 “ and in great Estimation with the King of *England*, notwithstanding  
 “ his Strength and Might, to no less Shame and Marvel of his Adver-  
 “ saries, than great Laud and Praise of this our native Country: Whom  
 “ King *Robert II.* rewarded with the Lands and Castle of *Crawford*,  
 “ whom through our Earldom is so named, for his singular Behaviour  
 “ toward the Commonweal of this Realm: For, by his Counsel and Con-  
 “ voy, all Things pertaining to our Realm, in the Time of *Robert II.*  
 “ were ruled with greater Craft and Wisdom, than in any Ages of before.  
 “ This *James* begat *David*, who was my Grandfather, who deserved  
 “ great Laud and Praise, for the diligent Inquisition made by him in the  
 “ Searching of the Traitors that put down thy Father of worthy Me-  
 “ mory; and took so great Travel in the Punishing thereof, that he ne-  
 “ ver desisted till every one were condignly punished for their shameful  
 “ Treason. So no Man doubts, but thy Excellency knows perfectly,  
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“ by our *Scottish* Histories, the Wisdom, Constancy, Strength and Gra-  
 “ vity, with the singular Knowledge of warlike Affairs, and sovereign  
 “ Manhood of my Forebeers and Predecessors, who, every one, have  
 “ lost their Lives for the Liberty and Welfare of this Realm. But, fy  
 “ on me, most miserable and unworthy Traitor, that am so forgetful of  
 “ all thir Men ! What Mischief was in my Mind, when I adjoyned me  
 “ in Armour with the Traitors that conspired against thy Majesty, and,  
 “ by my cruel Doings, compelled all *Angus*, with many others, to in-  
 “ vade them that were coming for thy Defence, for the Suppressing of  
 “ false conjured Traitors ? O wilful and fool-hardy Enterprize ! O sub-  
 “ tile and temerarious Purpose ! O high Fury and Madness ! O mise-  
 “ rable Chance to be lamented ! Not only have I brought myself in this  
 “ Misery, but also have brought the whole Nobles and Gentlemen of  
 “ *Angus* to extreme Dangers, both of their Lives and Tinsel of their  
 “ Houses. What shall I say or do ? Or where shall I go ? Or by what  
 “ Moyer shall I rid me of this Mischief ? All Law positively denies  
 “ that I should live, but raves the Life out of my Body. The Acts  
 “ and Statutes of the Realm require, that I should suffer a shameful  
 “ Death. It is of Truth there is no Remeid for me, nor none of my  
 “ Adherents ; who casually, as Men, have fallen, I will not say, have  
 “ flidden from their due Obedience, through the great Fear and Dreadour  
 “ of me, unless thy Royal Majesty, who hast the Power both of Life and  
 “ Death, wilt have Consideration and Pity of us, and grant us Grace  
 “ and Favour, which the Laws and Acts of Parliament deny to us all  
 “ utterly ; yet your Grace may do better, because Kings and Princes may  
 “ dispense with the Laws and Statutes. Attour, it is a miserable and  
 “ lamentable Case, to see the noble and ancient House of *Lindesays*,  
 “ conquest with great Wisdom, Manhood, Care and Travel, to be de-  
 “ stroyed for ever, for the Offence of one only Man. I pray thee there-  
 “ fore, most merciful Prince, That I be not debarred nor excluded from  
 “ the Fruit of thy Gentrice, nor yet exiled and denied of thy Humanity,  
 “ which has been shown so largely to diverse others oft before. For if  
 “ it be a great Manhood to overthrow and vanquish thy Enemy ; yet it  
 “ is no less Praise, with good Adviseement, to have Ruth and Pity of  
 “ him that he hath overcome ; because that is understood to be a sure  
 “ Puissance, when he doth moderate his own Strength and Power, and  
 “ knows how to overcome his own Affections. I regard not mine own  
 “ Personage no Manner of Way ; therefore I am content to underly what  
 “ Pain thy Majesty pleases to provide upon me, either to be hanged, to be  
 “ riven with the wild Beasts, to be drowned, to be cast over a Crag, to  
 “ be banished, or else to be casten in Prison till I die. Finally, It is  
 “ neither the fearful Mourning of my dearest Spouse, nor the Greeting  
 “ of my Bairns, nor the lamentable Sobbing of my Friends, nor yet the  
 “ Hership of my Lands, that moves me so much, as the Decay and Fal-  
 “ ling of our House, and the lamentable Chance and Fortune of the  
 “ Noblemen of *Angus*, with the Rest of my Adherents ; whose Lands,  
 “ Lives and Goods stand in Danger for my Cause. Have Ruth and Pity,  
 “ most element Prince, of the noble House and Sirname of *Lindesays*  
 “ Have Compassion of the Noblemen that assisted to my Faction, that  
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“ they, at the least, be not spuilzied of their Lives and Heritage only  
 “ for my Offence and Fault.

WHEN the Earl thus had ended, the Nobles and Gentlemen of *Angus*, that came in his Company to seek Remission, held up their Hands to the King, most dolorously crying Mercy; till their Sobbing and Sighing cutted their Words so fore, that almost their Prayers could not be understood. Through the which there rose such Ruth and Pity among the Company, that none could contain themselves from Tears and Mourning: And so every Man began to implore the King's Majesty for Respect to this Earl and his Assisters; but principally *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews* and Sir *William Crichton*, by whose Perswasion the Earl came at that Time to seek Mercy, sollicitated greatly for him and his Assisters, whom he compelled, contrary their Hearts, to maintain his Treason and Conspiracy; praying the King, of his Benignity, to spare them; for the Experience of this Mischief, that had befallen them by this Rebellion, should make them the more humble, faithful and obedient to their Prince, and to serve his Majesty, than if they had never fallen before. Attour, so great a Man's Repentance, humble Submission and Desire were not to be lightlied nor despised. *Have Consideration*, said they, *and Regard to the dangerous Times, with the other Circumstances presently within the Reahn; for if such a Thing be upon the Face of the Earth, as Faith, Repentance and Truth, no Man goodly may believe, nor could suspect either Fraud or Guile.* By thir Mens Words, lamentable Gesture and Countenance, they overcame and moved the King; and specially the Request and Prayers of thir Men that stood about him.

So, Remission being granted to them, the King bade them be of good Courage, and be of a better Mind towards the Commonwealth than they were before, saying, *That he had neither Desire of the Noblemens Lands, nor Goods, nor Lives, but rather to conquest their Hearts and Friendships; and that it is Truth, that he was ireful contrary all Conspirators, but yet would settle his Ire so soon as they became penitent of their Offences and Crime: And also he understood, That it became a Prince to be revenged upon Rebels and Injurers of his Majesty; yet, notwithstanding, he would use such Moderance herein, and deal with them as gently as he could, without Danger of others, or evil Example.* Attour, he desired no greater Revenge on them, than to see a Man of great Courage and Spirit, attempting, short sensyne, temerariouly such Thing above his Degree and Strength, now rendring himself freely, without Compulsion, to that Estate, that he granted he had no other Refuge, nor Hope of Restitution, but in the King's Clemency and Gentrice, and that he had asked Mercy and Forgivenness, upon his Knees, him whom he had pursued most cruelly, adjoynd and sociated with the common Enemies of the Reahn.

How soon the King had said this, and such like Words, showing his Mind inclined to Mercy, he received the Earl and his Assisters into his Grace and Favours, absolved them from Lese-Majesty, restored them

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to their Dignity again, former Estate and Honours, which was great Joy and Gladness to them all that beheld the same. The Earl of *Crawford*, gloried with his happy Eventure, convoyed the King's Majesty in the *North Land*, and with him a chosen Company of young able Men of *Angus*; and, in the Month thereafter, banquetted him right magnificently in the Place of *Finhaven*, promising faithfully to be ready, with all his Forces, to overthrow and fight against the common Enemies of the Realm, when and where it pleased the King's Majesty.

THIS Earl, being on this Ways reconciled with the King's Majesty, gave over all Tyranny, and became a faithful Subject, and a ficker Targe to the King's Lieges, having nothing in more Reverence and Honour, than the King's Royal Person. At last being, on this Manner, at Quietness and Rest, when he appeared to his Friends, and all other of the Country, to be in greatest Prosperity, Fortune tholed not the happy Estate of this Man long Time to continue: For, in the sixth Month after this Restitution, as said is, he took the hot Fever, and died in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and fifty four, and was buried, with great Triumph and Pomp, in the *Grayfriars* of *Dundee*, in his Forebeers Sepulchre. In this same Year the College of *Glasgow* was founded and erected. In the Year preceeding, *Mabomet* the Prince of the *Turks* besieged and wan the noble and ancient Town of *Constantinople*, and used great Slaughter and Cruelty upon the *Christians* wherever they came (*Nicolas I.* being Pope of *Rome*) and made the same, from thenceforth, his principal Dwelling-Place, and yet make their Residence there, unto this our Days.

IN the Beginning of the next Year, which was One thousand four hundred and fifty five, there was a Parliament set at *Edinburgh*, where *James* Earl of *Douglas*, *Beatrix*, his Brother's Wife, pretended Spouse to himself, *George* Earl of *Ormond*, *John* Lord of *Balweny*, were all together forefaulted and condemned to Death. There was a Convention made thereafter, where the King, calling to Remembrance how that the Earldom of *Murray* was rest from *James* *Crichton*, who married the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Murray*, as said is, by the subtile Craft of *William* Earl of *Douglas*, and given to *Archibald* his Brother; he restored the same to him again: But when *James* *Crichton* perceived that he could not joyse the Lands without the Hatred of many Gentlemen, he again put it in the King's Hand; and his Son thereafter, called *George* *Crichton*, in Recompensation thereof, was made Earl of *Caitbness*. At-tour, *William* *Hay*, then Constable of this Realm, was the first belted Earl of *Arrol*; and sundry other noble Knights, such as *Darnly*, *Hales*, *Lyle* and *Lorn*, were made Lords and Barons of Parliament.

AFTER this Council was dissolved, the King caused raise a new Army, to pass upon the common Enemies of this Realm; and first invaded *Galloway*, which was rendred without any Difficulty, with all the Strengths thereof. Thereafter passed to *Douglasdale*, where greater Cruelty was used than in *Galloway*; and the whole Men and Goods given to be a just Prey to be taken up by the King's Men of War, because



cause the Inhabiters were stubborn, and made them to gainstand the King's Authority. But when the Earl of *Douglas's* Lands and Men were overthrown with such Calamities, Sir *James Hamilton*, the Earl of *Douglas's* familiar Servant, was sent to *England* for Support against the King of *Scotland*, in Defence of the Earl of *Douglas*; but he obtained no Men, but Money. The which being obtained, he perswaded the Earl of *Douglas* to offer the King extreme Battle. To that Effect he caused take up Bands and Men of War, to the Number of three hundred Horsemen, and three hundred Footmen, to be under the Captainry and Government of *James Hamilton*: And also he caused seek all Clients and Familiars, and his tender Kindred and Friends, with all them that favoured him in the Realm of *Scotland* at that Time, charging them to be ready at the appointed Day, to come to him, and debate him and his Lands against the King, when he came to pursue him, and specially if he sieged *Abercorn*.

WHEN the King heard of this Provision of the Earl of *Douglas*, he was greatly affeared, thinking that he had wasted himself and his Money, and had tyred all his Subjects in the Pursuit, Hership and Dantoning of the Earl of *Douglas*; the whilk he thought, by that Extremity that he used toward the Earl of *Douglas*, was Occasion, if the said Earl might be Party to him by any Way, that he might give him Battle, either by Tinsel or Winning, to put the whole Realm in Jeopardy. The which the King was very loath to do; and so the King was very pensive in his Mind, what was best to be done in Defence contrary the Earl of *Douglas*, whom he knew to have so many Favourers at that Time, that it was impossible to him to be Party to the said Earl, if he pleased to rise against him, and give him Battle. Yet the King devised a subtile and crafty Mean against the said Earl, *that is to say*, He caused the Word gang to the Earl of *Douglas's* Ears, That he was to pass out of the Country, and that for Fear of the Earl of *Douglas*. Thir Things coming to the Earl of *Douglas*, he was very rejoyced hereat, and was the flacker in the Raifing of his Men and Army against him, thinking, that he should obtain his Purpose without any Battle or Gainstanding of the King. But, in this mean Time, the King caused the Earl of *Orkney*, the Earl of *Angus*, with other sundry Barons and Gentlemen, to the Number of six thousand Men, with all Provision, to be ready at a certain Day, as he advertised them, to pass to the Castle of *Abercorn*, and to siege it.

IN this mean Time, the Earl of *Douglas* hearing tell, That the King's Army was come to the Castle of *Abercorn*, and was sieging it, he believed surely that the King had been there himself: Therefore he sent and warned all his Kindred and Friends, and Clients, and all that would do for him in *Scotland*, charging them [to meet him at *Douglas*, the tenth Day hereafter, with twenty Days Victuals, to pass with him to the Castle of *Abercorn*, and there to rescue the same, or else to give the King Battle, and cause him either to fight or flee out of *Scotland*.

THE

THE King, hearing this, was stupified in his Mind, thinking his Army was over little, at that Time, to debate against the Earl of *Douglas*: For it was shewn to him he would be forty thousand Men in Armour against the King, at that Time. The King, seeing no Refuge, passed in a Ship hastily to *St. Andrews*, there to meet with Bishop *James Kennedy*, and to have his Counsel thereunto: Showing him, That the Earl of *Douglas* was gathering a great Army, either to fight with him, or to chase him out of the Country; and also he knew no Support to be had hastily at that Time: Therefore he desired his Counsel, what he thought best to be done hereintil. This Bishop was a wise and godly Man, and answered the King in this Manner, as after follows, saying, *Sir, I beseech your Grace, that ye will take a little Meat to refresh you, and I will pass to my Orature, and pray to God for you, and the Commonwealth of this Realm and Country.*

THIS being spoken, the King passed to his Disjoyn, and the Bishop to his Orature, to make his Prayer to Almighty God, to open his Mouth, to give him Knowledge and Utterance to give that noble Prince, who was destitute and comfortless of all good Counsel, That he might give him Instruction and Learning how he should escape that great Peril and Danger, apparently to fall at that Time. Then this Bishop took the King's Grace by the Hand, and led him to his Orature, beseeching him to make his earnest Prayers to the Almighty, That he would strengthen him with his holy Spirit, that he might, with a bold Courage, resist his Enemies, who were risen against him contrary the Commandment of God, and Commonweal of the Country; beseeching God, of his mighty Power and Grace, that he would grant him Victory of these Conspirators and Rebels, who were risen against him without any Cause made by him: And specially, That he would grant him the upper Hand of the Earl of *Douglas* and his Complices, like as he had done before of him and his Oppressors, when they oppressed the Commonwealth of the Country.

THIS being done, the King passed, in this Manner, to his Devotion, as this holy Bishop had commanded him. And after, when the King had ended his Prayer to Almighty God, then this Bishop seeing the King desolate of good Counsel, and despaired of good Hope or Success of any Victory to fall to him contrary his Enemies, caused him to pass into his Study or secret House, where his Bows and Arrows lay, with other fundry Jewels of the said Bishop. Then this Bishop let this noble Prince see a Similitude, the which might bring him to Experience and Comfort, how he might invade against the Uproar of the Conspirators, and specially against the Earl of *Douglas*, and the leave of his Complices. The said Bishop pulled out a great Sheaf of Arrows, knit together in a Quhang of Leather, and delivered them to the King in his Hand, and bade him set them to his Knee and break them. The King answered, *It is impossible, because there is so many together of the said Arrows, and knit so fast with Leather, that no Man can break them at once.* The Bishop answered and said, *That is true, but yet he would let the King see, that he could break them;* and pulled out one by

by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all. And said unto the King, *Sir, you must even do in this Manner with your Barons that have risen against you, which are so many of Number, and knit so fast together against you in Conspiracy, that you, on no Ways, can get them broken, but by this Practick that I have shewn you by the Similitude of thir Arrows; that is to say, You must conquest and break by Lord and Lord by himself; for ye may not deal with them all at once. And further, make a Proclamation out through your Realm, to all Thieves and Traitors, and all them that have offended against you, to grant them free Remission, to be good Men in Time coming, and now to serve your Grace at this instant Time in your Necessity. The which being done, I trust your Grace shall get more Favours than shall your contrary Party.*

THE King, hearing this wise Counsel, took Courage, and made his Proclamations, as foresaid is, in all Parts of his Realm, to the Effect foresaid. He pulled up his Banner in *St. Andrews*, and past to *Falkland*, on the first Night, in arrayed Battle. On the Morrow he went to *Stirling*, accompanied with this noble Bishop *James Kennedy*, with all the Lord's of *Fife*, *Angus* and *Strathern*, and remained in *Stirling* till the North Part of *Scotland* came to him, which were to the Number, with the King, of all People, thirty thousand Men. Hereafter, awfully, with displayed Banner, came forward against the Earl of *Douglas*, who was lying in the Camp of Battle on the South Side of the Water of *Caron*, a little by-East the Bridge, with the Number of forty thousand Men, making for to rescue the Castle of *Abercorn*; and thinking no less into his Mind, than he should go to the King and give him Battle, or else to cause him to leave the Realm. But, on the other Side, Bishop *James Kennedy*, used a crafty Mean to break the Earl of *Douglas's* Army, and sent a secret Servant of his own to *James Hamilton* of *Kedgou*, who was principal Captain to the Earl of *Douglas* at this Time, and had three hundred Footmen and three hundred Horsemen at his Governance, upon the Earl of *Douglas's* Expences, to charge and pass with him where he pleased; yet, notwithstanding, the said *James Hamilton* being advertised by his Eame, Bishop *James Kennedy*, of the King's good Mind and Favour towards him, which he appurchased to him by his Motion, shewing to him, that if he would return and leave the Earl of *Douglas* at that Time, and come and serve the King's Grace, he should have a full Remission of all Things bypast, and great Reward in Time to come. The which he obtained as after follows. And the said *James* took to be advised in this Matter, and gave the Messenger a good Answer. Notwithstanding this, *James* having a kindly Love to the Earl of *Douglas*, and a Respect to his own Favour, pondered the Cause in his own Mind, thinking that he would essay the Earl of *Douglas's* Mind in the said Cause, what he was purposed to do at that Time; howbeit he knew well the Matter to be unjust both against God and his native Prince. Therefore his Conscience moved him, at that Time, to be delivered of that unhappy Servitude contrary the King and Commonwealth of the Country. And, in this mean Time, there came a Herauld from the King's Army, charging the Earl of *Douglas* and his Complices to

skale

skale their Army, under the Pain of Treason. At thir Novels and Charge the Earl of *Douglas* mocked and scorned the Herauld ; and, miscontent, caused blow his Trumpets, and put his Men in Order, and marched forward to have met the King and foughten with him. But from Time he saw the King's Army in Sight, and abiding him stoutly with so great a Number, his Courage was something abased, and so were all the Lords and Barons that were with him, who had heard the King's Proclamation, wherein was granted a Remission to all them that had offended against his Majesty in Times past ; and if then immediately they would come to him, and be good Men in Times coming, that all Faults should be discharged bygone.

THIR Motives, with other more, moved the Gentlemen and Commons Hearts, that were with the Earl of *Douglas* at that Time, for to favour the King's Party better. The Earl of *Douglas* seeing this, that his Folks had tint some Part of Courage, and were not so well willing as he required ; therefore he retired his Army Home again to their Camps, where they lay all the Night, trusting to instruct them, and to give them better Courage and Hardiment than they had before, that they might pass forward with him, on the Morrow, as he pleased. But, of this Purpose, all the Lords and Captains of the Earl of *Douglas* were not contented ; and in special *James Hamilton*, who passed to the Earl of *Douglas* incontinent, and required of him what was his Mind, if he would give the King Battle or not ; and shew to him, the longer he delayed there would be the fewer Number at his Purpose ; and the King was ever the more able against him. The said Earl answered to *James Hamilton*, saying, *If he was tired, he might depart when he pleased.* Of the which Answer the said *James* was well contented, and that same Night passed to the King, where he was well received and thankfully, and all Things remitted bypast. That same Night, the rest of the Barons and Gentlemen, seeing the Departing of *James Hamilton*, took such Fear, that every Man passed away, that on the Morrow the Earl of *Douglas* was not a hundred Men, by his own House : Who, seeing this, took Purpose, and hastily fled in *Anandale*, where he was soon thereafter vanquished by a Band of Men of War of the King's. And so this Prince obtained great Victory and Peace, without any Slaughter of the Lieges at that Time ; and through the Counsel of this noble Bishop, and the returning of *James Hamilton* to the King. Yet the King, seeing nothing on his contrary but bare Fields, knowing well that the Earl of *Douglas* was departed in this Manner as I have shewn ; yet, notwithstanding, the King gave *James Hamilton* no Credit in the Beginning ; and thereafter sent him to be warded in the Castle of *Roslin* with the Earl of *Orkney*, till he had win the Castle of *Abercorn*, where he lost many of his Folks, and sundry right evil wounded. But when he did remember, that his whole Victory over the *Douglas* had fallen to him without any Blood, or Stroke of Sword, through the *Hamilton's* Leaving the Earl of *Douglas*, he received him as a familiar and tender Friend ; so, at the last, his Son got the King's eldest Daughter in Marriage.

BUT

BUT when the Earl of *Douglas* understood himself desert and left by many of his principal Friends, by whose Maintenance and Assistance he had enterprized so high Matters contrary the King's Authority, he fled in *England* with his Brother, to conquest some Support to recover the Thing that he lost; and thereafter, short while, he returned with an Army of Men, and came in *Anandale*, which was garnished with the King's Men of War for the Time; which Men of War assembled together, and met *James Douglas* and his Brother, with their Assistants, and fought manfully contrary them, and put them to Flight. In this Battle was slain *Archibald* Earl of *Murray*, with diverse other Gentlemen, vageit Men and Commons. And *George* Earl of *Onmond*, after that he was wounded and taken, and kept very straitly in Prison till he was healed of his Wounds; and thereafter brought to the King in *Edinburgh*, and beheaded for his Rebellion. The Earl himself and *John* Lord *Balweny* escaped very narrowly through a Wood, wherein they fled for Safety of their Lives. It is said, That the first Advertiser of this prosperous Success brought with him *Archibald Douglas's* Head, who was received by the King with great Thanks.

AFTER this unhappy Battle, albeit *James Douglas* was destitute of his Brother, Kindred and Friends, nor yet had he great Hope of any Support of *England*; yet, not the less never diffiding of good Fortune, he passed to *Donald* Lord of *The Isles* and Earl of *Reff*, being in *Dumstaffage* for the Time; whom he knew, of his Nature, to be proud and inclined to Mischief and Wickedness, and solisted him to assist to his Rebellion, and found that his Opinion beguiled him not: For this *Donald* gathered a Company of mischievous cursed Limmers, and invaded the King in every Arth, wherever he came, with great Cruelty, neither sparing old nor young, without Regard to Wives, old, feeble and decrepped Women, or young Infants in the Cradle, which would have moved a Heart of Stone to Commiseration; and burned Villages, Towns, and Corns so much thereof as might not goodly be carried away, by the great Prize of Goods that he took. After that he invaded *Argyle* in the same Manner, with the Isle of *Arran*, whereof, when he had gotten the Castle by Fraud and Guile, he made it equal with the Earth; and syne he chased *George* Bishop of *The Isles* and of *Argyle*, and slew sundry of his Friends and Servants, and himself escaped very narrowly, by fleeing to a Strength. At last he past to *Lochquaber*, and therefrom to *Murray*, where he invaded with no less Cruelty than the Rest before; and specially where there were any Favourers of the King's Authority. Attour, he destroyed the Town and Castle of *Innernefs*, after that he had gotten into it by a deceitful Subtilty. This he did not so much to please and gratify *James Douglas*, as he did rejoyce to foster Mischief, Cruelty and Wickedness, to which he was given allenarly, through the Impiety of his own Ingyn.

WHEN such civil War rang in *Scotland*, the King of *England* perceived a commodious Opportunity to take Advantage, as himself and his Predecessors were wont to do, ever since the first Habitation of the Isle of *Britain*, by either of thir two Nations, commanded that his Borders should

should break, and Incurfions should be made. The which was done as he commanded, without Knowledge or Expectation of the *Scottish*-Men, who, having no Suspicion of foreign Nations, were spuilzied of their Be-ftial, their Corns, and Houfes burnt, and fundry Gentlemen and Commons hurt and flain for the Defence of their Goods and Gear : So we perceive that *England* never forgot their old Quarrels upon small or no Regard, when they saw an apparent Advantage to have been Mafters ; and, by the contrary, they were fain to thigg and cry for Peace and Goodwill of *Scottish*-Men, when there was Unity and Concord amongft the Nobles living under Subjection and Obedience of a manly Prince. But albeit the King of *Scotland* perceived that the Realm was fo overgrown with civil Wars, on the one Part ; and that it should be both Shame and Skaith to himself and the Realm, on the other Part, to thole fo high Injuries without Remeid ; and therefore difsembled till a Time more gaining to be revenged of their Enemies.

At this Time *Beatrix Douglas, The Maiden of Galloway*, feeling nothing but Wrakes to come to her pretended Husband *James Douglas*, fled to the King, crying, *Mercy, for her Offences, laying the Crime upon James Douglas, and his wicked Flatterers and Affifters ; who not only had fyled her in the Contracting of that ungodly Marriage, but alfo, againft her Will, had forced her to the fame : So ſhe, being deſtitute of all good Helpers and Counſellers, could not goodly gainſtand or reſiſt ſo great a Party ; till now, having the Opportunity (ſays ſhe) of his Abſence to flee the Society of a wicked and ungodly Life, I came ſtraightway to ſeek the King's Maſteſty's Safeguard, Protection, and Remiſſion for the Offences bygone, which was a Crime committed rather of Neceſſity than wilfully, or of ſet Purpoſe.*

THE King, after that he had forgiven all Offences, and received this Gentlewoman in his Favours, he married her to his Brother *John Earl of Athole, the Black Knight of Lorn's Son*, and tochered her with the Lordſhip of *Balweny*.

WHEN *Donald of The Iſles* his Wife underſtood, that the King was fo favourable to *James Douglas's* Wife, as ye have heard, ſhe, in like Manner, fled under his Protection, and to eſchew the cruel Tyranny of her Husband, which ſhe dreaded at diverſe Times before. The King, calling to Remembrance that this Noblewoman was married, by his own Counſel, with *Donald of The Iſles*, he gave her therefore ſufficient Rents and Lands, whereon ſhe ſhould live honourably conform to her Eſtate.

NOT long Time after this, *Patrick Thornetoun*, one of the King's Maſteſty's own Court, but a Favourer of the *Douglafſes* Faſtion, cruelly, without any Ruth, flew *John Sandilands of Calder*, and *Allan Stuart* a Nobleman, beſide *Dumbartoun*, becauſe they were the King's Maſteſty's Adherents ; which was not long unpuniſhed : For the King made ſuch Diligence, till he apprehended both the Tyrant and his Complices, and put them to a ſhameful Death as they deſerved.

SHORT

SHORT while after this, fundry of the Nobles and great Men deceased ; such as *William* Earl of *Arrol* and Constable of *Scotland*, and *George Crichton* Earl of *Caithness* ; who, being vexed long with great Infirmary, because he had no Sons to succeed to his Place, he resigned the Lands, which he got to him and his Heirs male only, in the King's Majesty's Hands, seeing there was no Life to him : For the Lands should have fallen to the Crown after his Decease. Sir *William Crichton*, sometime Chancellor, deceased the same Year ; a Man of great Foresight, singular Manhood, and a faithful Subject, a sicker Targe of the Commonwealth unto his Life's End, and *Alexander Lindesay* Earl of *Crawford*, of whom Mention is made before ; in whose Room *David* his Son succeeded, one of the noblest of these Days. Many other Nobles and Gentlemen, whose Names are irksome to write.

NOT long after, Sir *Hary Pearsey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *James Douglas* lately forfaulted, entred in the Borders with a great Army, both of *Scottish* and *English*-Men, and wasted all with Fire and Sword wherever they came ; till, at the last, the Earl of *Angus* met them, with a Company of chosen Men, and put them to the Flight : For, when both the Armies most cruelly were fighting, with uncertain Victory on every Side, a great Part of the *English*-Men, not small of Estimation, greedier for Prey of Gear, than careful of their Honour and Welfare of their Lives, began to spuilzie and drive away their Enemies Goods, and left their Neighbours in Battle, void of their Support, which made an easy Pathway to the *Scottish*-Men that Day to obtain the Victory. In this Battle many *English*-Men were slain, to the Number of threescore, beside these that were slain in the Chase. Ten Gentlemen taken Captives, and fourscore *Scottish*-Men were slain, with some Captives, which were taken in the Skirmishing before the Shock of the Battle.

WHEN this Victory was told to the King's Majesty, and how that the *English*-Men had wasted so much on the Borders, without any Occasion or Break of him to *England*, he lamented sorely, that the Realm had been overthrown in itself with civil Wars and Discord, and himself so troubled Day by Day, that he might not goodly be revenged of their sakeless Injuries and Incurfions. Attour, it offended him most of all, that his Enemies raged more in their Insolence ; and that he was compassed with Rebellion on every Hand ; so that he could not enterprize to requite their Invasions, without great Loss of Men and Goods, and putting the Realm in extreme Danger and Hazard of his Enemies. And, in the mean Time, when the King was musing most highly upon his Purpose, *Donald* Earl of *Ross* and Lord of *The Isles*, sent Messengers to his Majesty, to be remitted of all Rebellion and Offences that he had done : Thinking well, that the King was so merciful to the Earl of *Crawford*, that he would be no less merciful to him ; but yet would not put himself in Peril, as *Crawford* did : And therefore sent one of his special Friends, who obtained Remission to him, partly through the King's own Humanity, and partly by the Request and Intercession of the Nobles of the Realm. But yet the King's Majesty handled the Matter very craftily, and found the Moyer how he would not openly and plainly forgive at

that Present, the wicked and treasonable Deeds of that wicked Tyrant, nor yet he would make the Messengers for to despair of their Chief's Remission, but answered them gently to hold them in Hope, saying, *That the Earl of Ross never deserved at his Hand, now to be remitted of his Cruelty and Rebellion lately committed; yet, not the less, seeing all Men on Earth, and specially Kings and Princes that represent the very Divine Majesty of God, (who also, of his excellent Nature, receives Mankind to the Bosom of his Mercy, so soon as he repents him of his Sin, not for any good Deed that Man may do to recompence him with) should thirst no Man's Blood, but be gracious and merciful to all Men that are become penitent of their Misdeed; yet because it pertains to God allenarly to know the inward Thoughts and Hearts of Men, and that Man's Nature cannot perceive nor understand further of another, than he may see by outward Signs and Tokens: And therefore he would that the Earl of Ross should do some notable Act, wherethrough all Men might understand him to repent intirely with his Heart, before that he should receive full Remission of all Offences. Attour, That the Earl of Ross should refund the Skaiths for all the Towns, Fortalices and Houses that he either had burnt or casten down; and, by that, restore and satisfy, at the least, the whole Goods and Gear to every Man, which he had rest and taken away. This being done, the Earl should be remitted, with all his Partakers and Complices, of all Offences bygone.*

THIS being done, and put to Rest, and a final End made of all Sedition and civil Discord in the North Isles of Scotland, the King's Majesty set his whole Care and Mind to invade England, and either to be revenged, or else repaired of all Oppressions and Injuries committed without Offence contrary his Realm and Lieges; and, to bring his Purpose more easy to Effect, he caused convene the Nobility to a certain Day, to consult and be resolved by what Moyer it might be done most commodiously. But behold during the Time of his Convention, there came Ambassadors from Richard Duke of York, Edward Mortimer Earl of Warwick, and their confederate Friends, to seek Support of Men of War contrary Henry King of England, whom they purposed to depose of his Royal Dignity. For albeit this Henry, through his own slothful Negligence and wicked Counsel, had lost France and Normandy, which his Forebeers had conquest to his Hand; yet, in so high Matters and desperate Affairs, that most mistered the Consultation of the greatest and noblest Men, whom it behoved to spend their Lives and Lands for the Recovering and Defence thereof, he admitted nor called none such Men to his Council, but admitted and extolled Slaves and Men of small Estate, by Reason they could flatter him, and that was most delectable to his Conceit; and he preferred them to the Administration and Governance of the Commonwealth, before and above such Nobles and Gentlemen of the Realm \* \* \* \* \* Manhood, the Glory of England, martial Deeds \* \* \* \* \* spread through all the World, were moved to conspire and convene themselves to deprive him of the Crown; and specially the Noblemen descended of the King's House, to whom the just Right of the Crown of England, which befel \* \* \* \* \* third Son to Edward III. who



who was lawful Heir to *Richard* II. that  
of his Body were destroyed and put down by *Henry* IV. So now, at this  
present, the Duke of *York*, thinking that he had better Occasion to reco-  
ver the Crown than *Henry* IV. had to rave the same from *Richard* II.  
and *Leonell's* Posterity, joyned himself in this Conspiracy of thir Noble-  
men, by whose Moyen and Assistance he purposed to recover his Right  
and Heritage, withholden from him and his Forebeers. But because  
they were not equal, neither in Riches nor Power to the King, within  
himself, they sent to the King of *Scotland* for Support, promising perpe-  
tual Friendship, with great Rewards, if they brought their Purpose to  
Effect. So, when thir Ambassadors got Prefence of the King's Majesty,  
in Sight of the Earls and Lords convened for the Time, the Principal  
of them made this Harangue and Oration in Manner following.

" How wicked and ungodly a Thing it is, most invincible and po-  
tent Prince, to place an Ignorant in high Estate and Regiment of  
" a Country? (How may it be that a Man, that cannot guide himself,  
" shall wisely guide others) By the contrary, how necessary it is that  
" a wise and potent Prince have the Ruling over a Realm? We have  
" the Experience of both in our Days, by diverse Manner of Ways: For  
" all Kings and Nations, most redoubted Prince, marvel of thy Craft  
" and Wildom, who, being but a young Man, or rather a Child, hath  
" set and put to Rest this Realm of *Scotland*, without great Slaughter  
" or Effusion of Blood, by an excellent Wit and Divine Providence,  
" which, in thy Minority, was wrecked and divided by the Seditions  
" and Factions of potent Men within the same. So we must, of very  
" Force, grant thy Felicity and happy Progress in all thy Doings, be-  
" fore we enter to intreat of other Matters: Therefore we pray God,  
" That thy prosperous Beginning may endure perpetually for ever. But  
" our King *Henry*, O how unlike is he unto thy Manners and Condi-  
" tions! And how far different from thy Usage in good Government of  
" the Realm! And how doth he carry himself! It is no less unknown  
" to thy Majesty than to us. For, by the Ignorance of that Man, in-  
" fected and corrupted with the wicked Counsel of Flatterers, not only  
" is the flourishing Renown of *England* suppressed, and turned to Scorn  
" and Mockery; but also a great Part of the Impyre and Dominion of  
" *France*, yea, nothing inferior to the Realm of *England*, which was  
" conquest by our Forebeers, is quate and lost. So, seeing it is so, that  
" we are oppressed with Slaves, which the King hath promoted, (the  
" Nobles of the Realm lightlied, and set aside from high Dignity to  
" base Estate) who, being placed in such Power and Authority, have  
" such Power over the Nobility, that they dare not draw their Breath,  
" much less justly to complain for any Offence, or to give Counsel what  
" is best to be done for the Preservation of the Commonwealth, which  
" the Nobles of the Realm cannot suffer longer; seeing it is both con-  
" trary the Commodity of a Commonwealth; and also, being suffered,  
" shall bring our Realm to Wreck, and the Inhabitants thereof to utter  
" Extermination. So it shall please you understand, most victorious  
" Prince, That the Nobles of *England* take no unwonted nor new Pur-  
" pose now in Hand, in the depriving of him, and putting another in  
" his

" his Place. For our noble Progenitors and Forebeers debarred *Henry*  
 " III. his Son, called *Edmond Cruckback*, from the Crown, because  
 " he was not so lusty, and of so gaining Disposition of his Body, as was  
 " thought expedient for a Prince, to attempt such Matters as were then  
 " ado ; albeit he was a Man of good Wit and singular Ingynne, to whom  
 " the Title of the Crown most justly appertained. Nought the less,  
 " the Realm of *England*, having sharp Wars in *France*, thought it to be  
 " expedient for the Government of the People, and Bearing of the Govern-  
 " ment above the Army, to choose a Man, not only wise and prudent  
 " of Spirit, but also that was lusty of Body, manful, stout and hardy.  
 " And, for this Purpose, they seeing *Edward*, younger Brother to this  
 " Man, of singular Courage, of no less Craft and Wisdom than his Bro-  
 " ther *Edmond*, and, in Beauty, more excellent, and above all Men  
 " within the Realm with Strongness and Ability ; the Lords made  
 " him King, and debarred this *Edmond*. So our Progenitors did  
 " prefer one Person to another, even the youngest to the eldest, and, de-  
 " barring the eldest therefrom, chose the younger. So it may appear how  
 " much is Wisdom commended above Foolishness, in a Person that bears  
 " Charge in a Commonwealth. Attour, how damnable it is to have an  
 " ignorant Captain of War, witless, and destitute of all good Counsel.  
 " The unhappy Mischance will bear Witness of the Loss and Tinsel of  
 " the Bounds of *France*, which was *England's* before. And suchlike, in  
 " Peace, to have a foolish Prince, corrupted and led away with Flat-  
 " terers and wicked Counsel, not only understand we that is dangerous,  
 " but also has vexed *Scotland* so long with civil Wars, as thou may have  
 " Experience, which have so often been wasted and spuilzied, when *Henry*  
 " of *England* knew that thy Majesty might not goodly wait upon foreign  
 " Wars : Wherefore we exhort your Majesty to enarm your self to this  
 " Effect, not only for our Cause, but also rather for your own, and to  
 " revenge the Injuries that *Scotland* has sustained ; even to be revenged,  
 " I say, upon the principal Author of all Mischief and Oppression :  
 " How honest and necessary therefore is the Ground and Fundament of  
 " our Purpose and Intentions, by thir Reasons foresaid may be easily un-  
 " derstood. Now, let us see how facilly this Matter, without Slaughter  
 " or Effusion of Blood, may be brought to pass, if ye please to support us,  
 " which we hope indeed (and what Reward therefore shall be) which be-  
 " ing declared, we shall shortly make an End. And first, I think it neces-  
 " sary to know of what Strength and Power is the King of *Scotland* ; and  
 " syne what is the Matter we may do : And then I believe the Matter  
 " shall be manifest to us all. When the Realm of *England* did flourish  
 " in Chevalry, and the whole Bounds and Dominions, which our Prede-  
 " cessors with their Conquests did augment thereto, were not diminished,  
 " our Strength and Power, without Flattery, I say, was so excellent,  
 " that no Man of wholesome Judgment but will grant we had no Part  
 " equal in *Europe*. And now, seeing we lost the Bounds within the  
 " Realm of *France*, and sought Help of *Scotland*, wherewith some  
 " Hope was to recover the same again, without which we despair all ut-  
 " terly ; in so far, that if either of the Factions within *England* might  
 " get Support of any foreign Prince, the other easily should be overcome.  
 " Attour, there was never Sedition nor Discord, till now of late, within  
 " the

“ the Realm of *England*, but it toucheth all as one : But seeing all  
 “ was sleuthed, there was no Mischief could befall our King, but was  
 “ delivered unto us ; and the whole Nobility, so long irked and vexed  
 “ with the Tyranny of King *Henry*, to loose themselves out of this Yoke  
 “ of Thralldom, has taken Purpose to surrogate *Richard* Duke of *York*  
 “ in his Royal Place ; for our Faction far surmounts the King’s Affi-  
 “ stance, both in Nobility and Wisdom. And albeit we doubt of the  
 “ Popular, which apparently, to the Eyes of Men, favour the King’s  
 “ Party, yet we have Experience, that they are so variable and facile,  
 “ that they desire nothing more than a great Man that would begin the  
 “ Alteration of the present Estate : As may well be known by *Henry* of  
 “ *Ireland* ; when he gave the Commons to understand, That since their  
 “ Liberty was reft from them by the avaritious Greediness of Courtiers,  
 “ for the Maintenance of their insolent Folly and Ambition, that he  
 “ would punish and put an Order to the King and Courtiers, if they  
 “ would assist his Enterprize ; which was taken in Hand by this *Henry*’s  
 “ Perswasion, as is manifest to this whole Isle, and had taken the Effect,  
 “ without Doubt, if the subtil Ingynne and Craft of the Chancellor had  
 “ not stanchd the same ; yea, in so far, that we now presently should have  
 “ had this Matter, neither to begin nor to end. Finally, that we may  
 “ make an End of the Thing that we have begun, we come now, most  
 “ renowned Prince, to thy Majesty, to get Support, promising rich Re-  
 “ wards therefore, which the Duke of *York*, and Earl of *Warwick*, with  
 “ the Advice of the whole Nobility of their Opinion, have commanded  
 “ us to promise to thy Majesty, if thou wilt assist them ; and what  
 “ Bounds and Lands your Grace’s Progenitors possessed and joyed  
 “ sometime in *Northumberland*, with *Berwick*, and all the Fields ad-  
 “ jacent thereto, for Reward and Recompence. And, last of all, a  
 “ perpetual Amity and Friendship to be bound up betwixt the two  
 “ Realms.

W H E N the Ambassadors had ended their Harangue, on this Manner,  
 the King’s Grace caused him and his Companions to remove them, until  
 he had consulted upon an Answer ; and when the King had advised with  
 the Nobles, and the Ambassadors come again, the King said on this  
 Manner.

“ I t is not unknown to us the just Title that the Duke of *York* hath  
 “ to the Crown of *England* ; but the Assistance of my Realm should not  
 “ be granted temerariouly ; neither should the Crown be taken from a  
 “ Prince, who is, by universal Consent, already crowned, for a light  
 “ Cause, without great Trial and Deliberation, and Knowledge of the  
 “ Cause : But that I defer to the Wisdom and Convention of the No-  
 “ bility of *England*. And as for Arms and Forces, be assured, that I  
 “ have just Cause to denounce War to the King of *England*. First, see-  
 “ ing he did vex my Realm and Lieges sakelessly with Incurfions, the  
 “ Time when the same was perturbed with civil Wars. Then also,  
 “ when I did seek Redress, King *Henry* delayed to give an Answer  
 “ thereupon : Therefore, if the Duke of *York*, with the Earls *Warwick*  
 “ and *Salisbury*, with the Nobles of their Faction, will keep Promise,  
 “ they

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“ they shall be assured, that my whole Strength and Forces shall be ready  
 “ to invade your King’s Favourers with Fire and Sword, wherever I come,  
 “ and shall do my utter Diligence to expel King *Henry*, and to restore  
 “ the Duke of *York* to his own Place.

So, when the Ambassadors had received their Answer, and faithful Promise taken and given on every Side, they departed, and reported the King of *Scotland*’s Answer to the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Warwick*.

IN this mean Time the King of *Scotland* commanded, by open Proclamation, all Men to be ready at a certain Day, with Armour and Vassals, to invade their old Enemies with Fire and Sword: But behold the quiet Sights of *England*. When the King was passing forward, as he had promised, to invade them, an *English*-Man met him by the Way, who favoured the King of *England* most entirely, perfect in the *Italian* Language, nourished and brought up all his Days in lying, and suborned by King *Henry*, with Bills and Commissions, as if he had been sent from the Pope of *Rome*; and in his Company a Monk, who did counterfeit a marvellous Gravity and Holiness of Life, as such Men had well wont to do; and said, *It was the Pope’s Command, that neither the King of Scotland, nor none of his Company, should pass any further to invade England, under the Pains of Cursing and Censures of holy Kirk: For, through the Dissension (says he) of Christian Princes, the Turks, most damnable and cruel Enemies of God’s Word, creep in daily more and more in Europe; so that, by their Tyranny, they have subdued a great Part thereof to their Dominion and Empire: Therefore let all Debates, Strife and Battle be set aside, and Peace be established among Christian Men. It is also (said he) decreed, That all faithful Men shall lay to their Shoulders for expelling of their common Enemies, who would not only spoil them of their worldly Freedom and Liberty, but also of the Word of God, which is the most precious Thing on Earth; and, to bring all Discord, reigning now in the Isle of Britain, the more easily to an End, there are other Ambassadors (said he) sent, directed by now from the Pope, to cause all Injuries committed by the King of England to be repaired; and also to agree all Quarrels and Dissensions betwixt the King of England and the Duke of York.*

KING *James*, believing nothing of any high Deceit in these fraudulent Fellows Sayings, obeyed the Charge, and scaled the Army. But scarcely was he well come Home, when he did perceive the crafty Subtilty of his Enemies, being devised by them contrary him. So, being come penitent of his facile Obedience, gathered a new Army, and passed forward upon his Enemies.

IN the mean Time, the Duke of *York*’s Army, whereof a great Part came with the Earl of *Warwick*, passed in arrayed Battle contrary King *Henry*, without any Expectation of the *Scottish*-Mens coming. And, upon the other Side, the King’s Adherents met their Enemies very stoutly, whose principal Chieftains, under the King, were the Dukes of *Somerset* and

and *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Clifford*. Shortly it was manfully foughten on both Sides ; but, at the last, the King's Army was vincuſt and overcome, himſelf taken Priſoner and had to *London*, and his three Chiftains foreſaid ſlain, with many Nobles and Gentlemen, by a great Multitude of the Commons. So, after this Victory, when he was come to *London*, there was a Convention ; where the whole Nobility agreed all upon that Head, That their King ſhould not be, at that Time, deprived of his Royal Eſtate ; but that his wicked Counſellers and Flatterers, as the very Corrupters of good Ingynes, ſhould be either put to Death, or elſe ſequeſtrate of his Company, and baniſhed off the Realm, and himſelf to be put in ſicker Firmance till further Conſultation : For it appeared very unleiſome to many of the Counſel, not only to put Hand in a living Prince, but alſo to rave the honourable Impyre from the Anointed of God, to whom the Realm once had given their Oath of Fidelity : For, in ſo doing, they ſhould be compelled, as perjured menſworn People, to chooſe another in his Place : And therefore decreeted, That the Duke of *York* ſhould be but Governor of the Realm during the King's Lifetime. Now the Earl of *Warwick* was made Captain of *Calais*, which was then one of the Authority amongſt the *English*-Men ; and the Earl of *Sariſbury* great Chancellor of the Realm. And ſo it was done till further Concluſion might be had in all Affairs.

IN that mean Time the King of *Scotland* invaded the King of *England*'s Favourers in the *North*, with all Cruelty. And when he had won the Town of *Roxburgh*, which the *English*-Men then had garniſhed with Men and Munition, and caſt the ſame to the Ground, he ſieged the Caſtle thereof. And when he was moſt buſy and earneſt in the Purſuit thereof, Ambaſſadors came from the Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Warwick*, with the reſt of that Faction, ſhewing the Victory that was theirs, and to thank him for his Goodwill and Readineſs, promiſing to do the like to his Maſteſty, to bring to Effect whenever it was needful ; praying him to deſiſt from the Siege, and not to moleſt the Realm of *England*, ſeeing God granted Victory to them, in ſo far that they were Maſters of the Realm ; otherwiſe, that he would exaſperate them of *England* to Wrath and Ire, who already would have invaded the *Scottiſh* Army, were not the greater Obſtacle and Impediment.

THE King answered, *That he was very glad of their prosperous Succeſs of Victory that had befallen the Duke of York, but did marvel how it might be, that he could be offended, or the Nobility of England, be doing nothing elſe but that which they required moſt affectuouſly.* Attour, he deſired the Promiſes to be fulfilled which were made to him. To the which was answered by the Ambaſſadors, *They had no Command to give Answer thereupon.* At the which the King was ſo commoved, that he reſuſed their Band and Kindneſs all utterly, as unworthy of Kindneſs and Credit, but altogether falſe and diſſembled ; and albeit they did vary and diſcord in ſome Affairs, yet they concorded altogether in Trumpery and Falſhood ; ſhowing a fair Countenance, with many pleaſant Words, in the Beginning, when they required any Thing under Colour, Fraud and Guile. And therefore ſaid to the Ambaſſadors on this Manner.

*Albeit*

*Albeit the Duke and his conjured Faction be proud and insolent of the Victory lately obtained, wherethrough they disdain to keep their Promise made to me; yet, nevertheless, I will, by God's Grace, be revenged of all Injuries done to me, my Realm and Lieges, by England, as I had determined before that thir Ambassadors solisted for this Effect, not knowing then their quiet Deceit and subtile Fraud; and also shall be revenged of this Injury, which is most of all, in violating and breaking the solemn Oath and faithful Promise that the said Ambassadors and Men of War did promise in their Names and Behalf.*

So the Ambassadors being departed with this Answer, the King commanded the Soldiers and Men of War to assault the Castle; but the *English*-Men defended so valiantly within, that the Siege appeared to endure longer than was believed. So the King determined to compel them, that were within the House, by long Tarry, to render and give over. At the which Time *Donald* of *The Isles*, of whom we spake before, came to the Siege with a great Company, all armed in the *Highland* Fashion, with Habergeons, Bows and Axes; and promised to the King, if he pleased to pass any further in the Bounds of *England*, that he and his Company should pass a large Mile afore the rest of the Host, and to take upon them the first Press and Dint of the Battle. The King, after that he had received him with great Humanity, answered, *That he would use the Nobles Counsel in all the Progress of Wars*; rejoicing much that *Donald* was so ready to hazard himself and Friends for Defence of the King, and Honour of the Commonwealthe. After this he bade him stent his Pavillion by himself, till further Occasion served to do as he desired. This *Donald*, obedient at Command, after that he had taken the Place, to him and his Folks, that was deputed for them, sent out sundry Companies of his Men to spuillzie and herry the Country about the Camp, seeing the Seige lasted longer than the Pursuers Expectation was. For albeit a great Part of the Keepers of the House was perished and tint for Hunger, and the rest straitly overset by the Seigers; yet, not the less, they persevered so stoutly, without Regard of all their Adversaries, that the Pursuers were almost tint with the long Sieging; till *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley's* Coming, who brought a great Company of chosen Men, which made the King so blyth, that he commanded to charge all the Guns to give the Castle a new Volley. But while this Prince, more curious than became him, or the Majesty of a King, did stand nearhand the Gunners, when the Artillery was discharged, his Thigh-Bone was dung in two with a Piece of a misframed Gun, that brake in shooting; by the which he was stricken to the Ground, and died hastily. The which gritumly discouraged all his Nobles, Gentlemen and Friends that were standing about him; but commanded all that knew his Misfortune to hold their Silence, and not to divulgate the same throughout the Camp, in case it should discourage the Soldiers and Men of War, and that they should shamefully dissolve the Siege.

BUT the Queen, hearing of this Mischiefe, took her young Son, called *James III.* and, with a stout Courage, like to the *Almains* and *Ghelders* of whom she was descended, leaving off all womanly Mourning, by  
all

all Mens Expectations, brought him to the Host, and exhorted all who were true *Scottish*-Men to continue the Siege, till either the Castle should be rendered, or taken by Force. *Lose not (saith he) with Shame, the Time and Labours which you have bestowed on this Siege; neither let the Loss of one Man bereave you all of your Courage; and seeing this Chance is not known to the rest, bear ye a good Countenance, so that no more may know the same. Forward therefore, my Lords, (leaving of all womanly Lamentation) and put an End to this honourable Enterprize, sacrificing rather the Lives of your Enemies, than your own Tears, to the Ghost of your Prince.*

THE Captains, partly encouraged hereby, partly ashamed to be overcome by the Courage of a Woman, resolving to go forward, took her Son *James III.* to be their Chiftain; and so fiercely assaulted the Castle, that the *English*-Men, seeing no Hope of Relief, yielded the Castle to the new King, being suffered to depart safe with Bag and Baggage. The Castle was demolished, lest it might be a Strength to the Enemies thereafter. Which was done in *August*, the Year of God One thousand four hundred and threescore Years; and the thirtieth Year of the Age of King *James II.* and the twenty fourth Year of his Reign.

ABOUT this Time there were many Marvels which prognosticated the King's Death. The Night before his Decease, there appeared a clear Comet, even as it were a Token of the hasty Death of so great a Prince.

IN the Year preceeding, there was a Bairn which had both the Kinds of male and female, called, in our Language, *A Scarcht*; in whom Man's Nature did prevail: But because his Disposition and Portaiture of Body represented a Woman, in a Man's House of *Lithgow*, he associated in Bedding with the Goodman's Daughter of the House, and made her to conceive a Child. Which being divulgate through the Country, and the Matrons understanding this Damosel deceived on this Manner; and being offended that the monstrous Beast should set himself forth as a Woman, being a very Man, they got him accused and convicted in Judgment, for to be burnt quick for his shameful Behaviour.

ABOUT this Time there was apprehended and taken, for a most abominable and cruel Abuse, a Brigand, who haunted and dwelt, with his whole Family and Household, out of all Men's Company, in a Place of *Angus*, called *The Fiend's Den*. This mischievous Man had an execrable Fashion, to take all young Men and Children, that either he could steal quietly, or take away by any other Moyer, without the Knowledge of the People, and bring them Home and eat them; and the more young they were, he held the more tender and the greater Delicate. For the which damnable Abuse he was burnt, with his Wife, Bairns and Family, except a young Lass of one Year old, which was saved and brought to *Dundee*, where she was fostered and brought up: But, when she came to Woman's Years, she was condemned and burnt quick, for the same Crime her Father and Mother were convicted of. It is said, That, when this young Woman was coming forth to the Place  
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of Execution, that there gathered a great Multitude of People about her, and specially of Women, cursing and warring that she was so unhappy to commit so damnable Deeds. To whom she turned about with a wood and furious Countenance, saying, *Wherefore chide ye with me, as I had committed an unworthy Crime? Give me Credit, and trow me, if ye had Experience of eating of Man's and Woman's Flesh, ye would think the same so delicious, that ye would never forbear it again.* And so, with an obstinate Mind, this unhappy Creature, without Sign or outward Token of Repentance, died in the Sight of the whole People, for her Misdeeds that she was adjudged to.

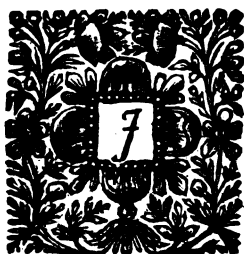
ABOUT this Time ragn many cunning Men, by whose Labours and Travel good Letters flourished, which was almost perished by barbarous Cruelty of the *Gothes*: Such as *Laurentius Valla*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, who did great good in the Restitution of the *Latin* Tongue to the old Purity and Ornateness, as his Works yet do witness; suchlike, *Franciscus Philelphus*, and *Franciscus Petrarcha*, both singular Orators; *Nicolaus Perottus*, who set his whole Mind and Study to abolish and put away the old rude Manner of teaching, and to garnish and teach the Youth, with eloquent Languages, in all Kind of Sciences.



T H E



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
KING JAMES III.



*JAMES II.* unhappily slain in this Manner foresaid, as we have shown, *Margaret* his Wife continued at the Siege, ever exhorting the Lords and Barons to be stout in the Pursuit of the said Castle, and never to pass from the same till it were won. To that Effect she brought her young Son, *James III.* to remain still with the Lords at the said Siege, till the said Castle was won. Though he was of tender Age, and could use no Vassalage, nor Feat of Wars; yet his coming encouraged so the People, that they forgot the dolorous Dead of his Father, and passed manfully to the House, and won the same, and justified the Captain only thereof. Secondly, cast down the said Castle, that it should not be an Impediment to them afterward, by the Holding of the *English-Men*.

Soon after there was a Convention set at *Scoon*, where the Queen Mother, with the rest of the Nobility, crowned her Son *James III.* being of the Age of seven Years; and thereafter was delivered to Bishop *James Kennedy* in Keeping, to learn Letters at the Schools.

At this Time *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, was Warden of the Borders, and oftentimes defended the same manfully; wherethrough he was made Lieutenant, by the Queen and Council, to pass, with the whole Body of the Realm, in Defence of the Borderers. And, after a little While,

While, the *Humes* gathered and the *Hepburns*, with Support of *Lothian-Men*, and past to *Wark*, and cast it down ; so that the *English-Men* desired Peace with the *Scots* for fifteen Years, which was granted to them by the Counsel of Bishop *James Kennedy*, who helped to govern the Realm during his Days : But the special Cause of this Tranquillity and Peace in *Scotland*, was, because *English-Men* had civil Wars among themselves, striving daily for the Crown of *England*, betwixt the Duke of *York* and King *Harry VI.* who, in short Time thereafter, desired a safe Condu& for his Wife and his eldest Son, and certain of his Kin and Friends, containing the Number of a thousand Men, for to remain a While in *Scotland* at his Pleasure. Which Condu& was granted unto him by the King and Council, and was well received, and remained in the *Gray-friers* of *Edinburgh* so long as he pleased.

Nor long after the Queen of *England* passed in *France*, because she was a *French-Woman*, and many of the Nobles with her. And King *Henry*, at this Time, gave *Berwick* to the *Scottish-Men*, for his Support and Entertainment that he had in *Scotland* that Time.

In this Time Bishop *James Kennedy* guided the King and his Council in good Unity and Peace, whereby the Commonweal flourished greatly. He founded a triumphant College in *St. Andrews*, called *St. Salvador's College* ; wherein he made his Lair very curiously and costly ; and also he bigged a Ship, called *The Bishop's Berge*. And when all three were complete, he knew not which of the three was costliest : For it was reckoned, by honest Men of Consideration being for the Time, that the least of them cost ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*. So the three, being complete, cost thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

In this mean Time *Henry VI.* departed out of *Scotland* towards *England* ; and shortly thereafter was taken by King *Edward*, and put in Prison. At this Time the King of *France* sent a Captain, called *Peter Brice*, with certain Support to King *Harry* : But, ere ever he came, he was taken by King *Edward*, and put in Prison. Therefore the said Captain, hearing that the King was put in Prison, took a Castle in the North of *England*, called *Annick*, and there thought manfully to defend himself, till he got Support. But *Edward*, the new King, hearing of his Intent, caused a greater Army to come hastily and siege him. The said Captain, knowing no Relief to come to him hastily, sent to the Council of *Scotland*, desiring them to relieve him, or to skale the Siege ; promising to them to cause the King of *France*, his Master, redeem to them the Costs, Skaiths and Damages sustained by them in the said Cause. Incontinent *George Earl of Angus*, Warden of the Borders, and great Lieutenant for the Time, raised a great Number of *Scottish-Men*, to the Number of twenty thousand, to wit, ten thousand Horsemen, and ten thousand Footmen ; and, when he was nearhand the said Castle, he chused out ten thousand of the best of his Army, and past to the said Castle on swift Horse, as it had been a Fray, and gart the rest of his Army come in Sight of the said Castle in arrayed Battle, as a Steill in Adventures, in case the *English* should give Battle. But the *English-Men* were so afraid

afraid at the sudden Coming of the *Scots*, that they skaled their Siege, and gave them Way, while he relieved the said Captain of *France* safely, and brought him to *Scotland*, and there put him to Liberty to pass to *France*, as he pleased, with his Company.

THE Year of God, One thousand four hundred and sixty three Years, *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, Daughter to the Duke of *Geldre*, departed at *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the Trinity-College, which she founded herself after the Decease of *James II.* her Husband. This Queen *Margaret* was very wise and virtuous in her Husband's Time: But, soon after his Death, she knowing herself to be a Regent and Guider of the Realm, seeing all Men to obey her, and none to controul her, she became to be lecherous of her Body, and took *Adam Hepburn* of *Hales*, who had a Wife of his own, and committed Adultery with him; which caused her to be lightlied of all the Nobility in *Scotland*, that she saw so many Noblemens Sons and Barons free of Marriage, and would not desire one of them to have satisfied her Lust, but took another Wife's Husband to satisfy her greedy Appetite.

THE same Year *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and Brother to King *James III.* was sent to *France* to learn the Leed, with other Letters, directed by *James Kennedy* Bishop of *St. Andrews*. The said *Alexander* and his Ship were both taken by the *English*-Men; who were suddenly delivered by Supplication of Bishop *James Kennedy*: For the said Bishop *James* promised to the Council of *England*, that there should no Peace be kept, if the said *Alexander* and his Ship were not delivered immediately. The which was done at his Desire: For the *English*-Men had such civil Wars among themselves, that they durst not break Peace with *Scotland*.

IN the Year of God One thousand four hundred and seventy six Years, Bishop *James Kennedy* departed out of this present Life, and was buried at the City of *St. Andrews*, in the College which he founded himself. This Bishop *James Kennedy*, in his Days, was wondrous godly and wise, and was well learned in Divine Sciences, and practised the same to the Glory of God, and Commonweal of the Kirk of God: For he caused all Parsons and Vicars to remain at their Parish-Kirks, for Instruction and Edifying of their Flocks; and caused them to preach the Word of God unto the People, and to visit them when they were sick. And also the said Bishop visited every Kirk within his Diocie four Times in the Year, and preached to the said Parochin himself the Word of God truly, and required of the said Parochin if they were duly instructed in the Word of God by their Parson and Vicar; and if their Sacraments were duly administrate unto them by the Parson and Vicar aforesaid; and if the Poor were sustained; and the Youth brought up and learned conform to the Order that was taken in the Kirk of God. And where he found not the same Order kept, he made great Punishment, to the Effect, that God's Glory might shine through the Country in his Diocese; giving good Example to all Archbishops and Kirk-Men, to cause the Patrimony of God's Kirk to be used to the Glory of God, and to the

Commonweal of the Poor. Farther, he was a Man well learned in the Civil Laws, and had great Practick in the same; where, by Ingyné, Letters and Practick, long Use and Years, he knew the Nature of the *Scottish-Men*, so that he was most able of any Lord in *Scotland*, Spiritual or Temporal, to give any wise Counsel, or an Answer, when the Time occurred, before the Prince or the Council; and specially in the Time of Parliament, or when the Ambassadors of other Countries came for their Affairs, there was none so able as he to give them Answer, conform to their Petition and Desires of their Masters. Or when any Affairs or Troubles that occurred in the Realm, and specially Lese-Majesty, he was also practised in the same: For he gave Counsel to King *James II.* when he was ready to depart out of *Scotland* for Fear of the Earl of *Douglas*, who had gathered against him to the Number of forty thousand Men, ready to give him Battle, or else to chase him out of the Realm. Notwithstanding, this noble Bishop, seeing this noble Prince desolate of Counsel, and desperate of any Hope of Success of Victory to fall to him in contrary his Enemies, caused this noble Prince, *James II.* come to him to *St. Andrews*, ere his Departure, and there gave him such Counsel, as after follows. *That is to say*, He led him to a quiet Orature, and desired him to make his Supplication to Almighty God, that he would open his Eyes and his Heart, that he might have Knowledge and Wisdom to danton and punish the Conspirators, which were risen against him contrary the Laws of God and Man, and also the Commonwealth of the Country. When they had both ended their Oration and Prayers to Almighty God, the holy Bishop beginneth to let this noble Prince see a Similitude, the which might bring him to Experience and Comfort, how he might evade the Uproar of the Conspirators; and in special against the Earl of *Douglas* and the rest of his Complices. The Bishop puts forth a great Sheaf of Arrows, knit together in a Whang of Leather, and gave them to the King in his Hands, and bade him set them to his Knee and break them. The King answered and said, *It was impossible, because there were so many of them together of the said Arrows, and knit so fast together with Leather, that no Man could break them at once.* The Bishop answered, *That was true, but yet he would let the King see that he would break them;* and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all; and said to the King, *You must do in the same Manner with your Barons that have risen against you, which are so many in Number, and knit so fast together in Conspiracy against you, that you can noways get them broken, but by such Practick as I have shewen you, by the Similitude of the Arrows:* This is to say, *You must conquest and break Lord and Lord by himself; for you must not deal with them all at once. And further, make a Proclamation out through the Realm, to all Thieves and Traitors that have offended against you, and grant them free Remission to be good Men in Time coming, and now to serve your Grace, at this instant Time, in your Necessity. The which being done, I trust your Grace shall get more Favourers than shall your contrary Party.*

THE King, hearing this wise Counsel, took Courage, and made Proclamations, as foresaid, in all the Parts of his Realm, to the Effect foresaid.

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He put up his Banner in *St. Andrews*, and past to *Falkland* the first Night in arrayed Battle. On the Morrow he went to *Stirling*, accompanied with this noble Bishop *James Kennedy*, with all the Lords of *Fife*, *Angus* and *Strathern*, and remained in *Stirling* till the *North Parts* of *Scotland* came to him, which were in Number with the King thirty thousand. Thereafter, awfully, with displayed Banner, came forward against the Earl of *Douglas*, who was in Camp of Battle on the *South Side* of the Water of *Carron*, three Miles from the *Torwood*, with the Number of forty thousand Men, thinking no less in his Mind than he should be Party to the King, and give him Battle, or else to cause him leave the Realm. But, on the other Side, Bishop *James Kennedy* used a crafty Moyen to break the Earl of *Douglas's* Army, and sent a secret Servant of his own to *James Hamilton* of *Kedyow*, who was principal Captain to the Earl of *Douglas* at this Time, and had three hundred Horsemen and three hundred Footmen at his Government, upon the Earl of *Douglas's* Expences, to charge and pass wherever he pleased; yet the said Sir *James Hamilton*, being advertised by his Eame, Bishop *James Kennedy*, of the King's good Mind and Favour towards him, which he purchased to him by his Moyen, showing to him, if he would return and leave the Earl of *Douglas* at that Time, and come and serve the King's Grace, he should have a full Remission of all Things bygone, and great Reward in Time to come. The which he obtained, as after follows. Notwithstanding this, Sir *James Hamilton* having a kindly Love to the Earl of *Douglas*, and a Respect to his own Honour, pondered the Cause in his own Mind; thinking that he would essay the Earl of *Douglas's* Mind in the said Cause, what he was purposed to do at that Time, howbeit he knew the Matter was unjust both against God and his native Prince: Therefore his Conscience moved him to be delivered, at that Time, of that unhappy Servitude contrary the Weel of the Country. He passed to the Earl of *Douglas* incontinent, and enquired of him what was his Mind, if he would give the King Battle, or not: Shewing to him, the longer he delayed he would be the fewer in Number; and the King was ever the more able against him. The said Earl answered to *James Hamilton*, saying, *If he was tyred, he might depart when he pleased*. Of the which Answer the said *James* was well content; and, that same Night, passed to the King, where he was well received and thankfully, and all Things remitted bypast. That same Night, the rest of the Gentlemen and Barons, seeing the Departure of *James Hamilton*, took such a Fear, that every Man passed his Way; so that, on the Morrow, the Earl of *Douglas* was not a hundred Men by his own House; who, seeing this, took Purpose, and hastily fled in *Anandale*, where he was soon thereafter vanquished by a Band of Men of War of the King's: And so this Prince obtained great Victory and Peace, without any Slaughter of his Lieges at that Time, and that through the Counsel of this holy Bishop. Many other good Acts he did in his Time, both to the Glory of God, and to the Commonweal and Advancement of his native Country. So we will let him rest with God, and return again to our Purpose.

IN the Year of our Lord, One thousand four hundred and seventy one Years, King *James III.* being of the Age of twenty Years, taketh to Wife, *Margaret* the King of *Norroway's* Daughter, (otherwise the King of *Denmark*) and got with her, in Tocher-good, the Lands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, with all Right, and Title of Right to them, pertaining to the King of *Norroway* at that Time. This Marriage was solemnized at *Edinburgh*, the Gentlewoman being but twelve Years at that Time.

THE King being married with all Solemnity, and having this Realm in Peace, and the Commonwealth thereof flourishing; yet, notwithstanding, in short Time thereafter, he was brought in great Cumber; partly by his own Insolency, and otherwise by the Conspiracies of his own Lords and Barons against him, as after follows, as ye shall hear.

THIS Prince had two Brether, the eldest, called *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *March*, was very wise and manly, and loving nothing so well as able Men and good Horfe, and made great Cost and Expences thereon; and, for his singular Wisdom and Manhood, he was esteemed, in all Countries, above his Brother the King's Grace: For he was so hardy and manly with the Lords and Barons of *Scotland*, that he was holden so in Estimation, that they durst never rebel against the King, so long as he rang in Peace and Rest with his Brother the King's Grace: For he was hardy, manly and wise, that they stood more Awe of him, than of the King's Grace, for his Manhood. This *Alexander* was of mid Stature, broad-shouldered, and well proportioned in all his Members, and specially in his Face, *that is to say*, Broad-faced, red-nosed, great-eared, and of very awful Countenance, when he pleased to shew himself unto his Unfriends. But the King's Grace, his Brother, was far different from his Qualities and Complexions: For he was one that loved Solitariness and Desert, and never to hear of Wars, nor the Fame thereof; but delighted more in Musick and Policies of Bigging, than he did in the Governance of his Realm. He was also wondrous covetous in conquessing of Money, rather than the Hearts of his Barons; and he delighted more in Singing and Playing upon Instruments, than he did in the Defence of the Borders, or Administration of Justice. The which, at length, caused him to come to Ruin, as ye shall hear hereafter following. But we return to the third Brother, *John* Earl of *Mar*, who was young, fair and lusty, and one of high Stature, fair and pleasant-faced, gentle in all his Behaviours and Manners; and knew nothing but Nobility, using much Hunting and Hawking, with other gentlemanny Pastime and Exercises, with other knightly Games, as, entertaining of great Horses and Mares, whereof the Offspring might flourish, so that he might be staked in Times of Wars. But with the same we will return to our History.

*Alexander* Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *March*, for his singular Manhood and Wisdom, he was chosen Captain of *Berwick*, and Lieutenant of our whole Borders; and had in his Hand, at that Time, the Castle of *Dumbar*, with the Living thereof, pertaining to the Earl of *March*. Notwithstanding *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, otherwise Lord *Chamberlain*, had

had many of thir Lands into his Hands, in uptaking the Mails and Rents thereof, by Reason of his Office given to him in King *James II.* his Time; therefore would not suffer the Tenants thereof to make Answer, to the said *Alexander Duke of Albany*, of the said Mails, Rents and Profits thereof, with his Goodwill; but believed afterwards, with such crafty Means, to use the same to his own Pleasure. But the said *Alexander Duke of Albany* commoved with the same, sparing not to ride the Ground-Bounds and Lands of the said Earldom of *March*, and there uptake the said Profits and Duties at his own Pleasure. Notwithstanding the Lord *Hume*, nor none of his Friends in the said Action, might never in noways be Party unto him, because he was both Captain of *Berwick*, and had all *The Merse* at his Command and Obedience; and also he had the Castle of *Dumbar*, and many of the Gentlemen of that Country to fortify him in his just Cause, because he was the second Person of *Scotland*.

THAT same Year the Queen bare a Son, thereafter was called *James IV.* Notwithstanding the *Humes* were very ill discontent at his Proceedings, cast all the Ways and Means they might, to keep themselves in Possession of the Rooms and Rents, which they were in Use and Possession before of uptaking thereof, as Chamberlain to the King's Grace: And, to that Effect, to fortify their Cause, they banded with the *Hepburns*, to make their Party good against the said *Alexander Duke of Albany*: But nevertheless their Labour was all in vain; because their Action was not good nor just, he prevailed ever, at all Times, against them, when they met. If he had been thirty, and they threescore, yet he would have given them Battle; and oftentimes warred them, and chased them to their Hold.

THEN the *Humes* and *Hepburns*, seeing they nothing could prevail against this Nobleman, devised among themselves a crafty Mean, whereby they might cause his Brother the King's Grace to be discontent with him: Knowing well, if they had the King broken from the said his Brother, in this Case, they thought to rule the King's Grace as they pleased: And, to this Effect, sought all the Occasion that they might to bring their Purpose to Effect; till, at the last, they saw a new Courtier start up, called *Cochran*, who had, at that Time, great Preheminence and Authority in Court, and Audience of the King, and ruled all Matters and Actions as he pleased, to them that would give him Buddes and Gear for his Labour. The *Humes* and the *Hepburns* seeing this Man, *Cochran*, have so great Credit of the King, thinking nothing better than to make their Moyer with him, they gave him great Sums of Money to fortify and maintain their Cause against the Duke of *Albany*, who hastily promised to take their Parts in all Things debateable betwixt them and the Duke of *Albany*, and his Brother the Earl of *Mar*: For the said *Cochran* confessed to them, That he was in no less Fear or Dread of the Duke of *Albany* and his Brother, than they were themselves: Therefore he was the more willing to consent to their Opinion; and promised to them, if he might find the Time convenient, he should bring their Purpose to Effect; and departed from them, and was into the Court, and

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daily laboured, with all his Ingyne, to bring the King at Discord with his Brother. He travelled and laboured long ere ever he could find any Effect to bring his Purpose to pass : For the King loved his Brethren so well, that he would not trow any wrongous Narration of them, nor give Credence to no Man that spake evil of them ; till, at the last, this *Cochran*, seeing that, by no Way, he could break the King from his Brethren ; he caused a Witch with him come, and pronounce to the King, That he should be suddenly slain with one of the nearest of his Friends and Kin. Of the which the King was very afraid, and desired of the Witch, how she had that Experience of him, or if any Man had caused her speak the same. She answered, she had the Revelation thereof by a familiar Spirit. And then the King began to be astonished, and daily afraid of thir new Tidings, conjecturing and moving in his Mind whom this should be. But, at the last, took the Suspicion in his Mind of his Brethren, that he conjectured it should be they should perform this Prophecy that the Witch had spoken ; because he had no Bairns of his own, at that Time, of Age to do such Things as were pronounced ; and therefore he concluded wholly with himself, that it should be his Brethren should do him that Mischief : And thereupon he grew in such Suspicion and Hatred against them, that he might, on no Ways, take Rest, because they were nearest of Kin to the King, as the Witch said ; but ever enquiring of *Cochran*, and the rest of his unhappy Counsellors, who augmented him daily in that Suspicion towards his Brethren. But when thir Tidings of the King's Suspicion came abroad through the Country, and also came to the Ears of the *Humes* and the *Hepburns*, they were heartily content of thir Novels, trusting to be relieved, by that Way, of their Enemies, the Duke of *Albany* and his Brother : Therefore they made them to the Court, and flattered the King and Courtiers, showing their Opinion of the King's Suspicion, saying, *That they thought all of Verity that the King had conjectured in that Matter towards his Brethren.* Till, at the last, there grew such mortal Fead within the King's Breast, toward his Brethren, that he could noways be content to let them live in Peace and Rest, but sakelessly, in his Heart, condemned them both to the Death, and that by the Perswasion of this false Flatterer, *Cochran*, and the Enticements of the *Humes* and *Hepburns*, which were the Fortifiers of *Cochran* in that Cause, by their Perswasion, giving to him great Gifts of Gold and Silver therefore. And, at the last, the King sent for his Brethren, the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Mar*, to come to *Edinburgh* to him, in all possible Hast, for such Things as he had to do with them at that Time : But the King's Mind and Purpose was, to destroy them immediately after their Coming. But, notwithstanding, the Duke of *Albany* was surely advertised by his Friends of the King's Malice ; and therefore would not compear for the King's Writing ; but fled to his own Castle of *Dumbar*, till he saw farther in the Matter. But the Earl of *Mar*, unadvertised hereof, came obediently to his Brother the King's Grace ; who was hastily thereafter murdered and slain in the *Ganongate* in a Bath-Fat ; by whose Perswasion, or for what Cause, I cannot tell. But the King's Grace, soon after, came to *Dumbar*, to have had his Brother the Duke into his Hands : But the Duke, advertised of his Coming, fled out of his said Castle, and left Men to keep



keep it, and fled himself to *Berwick*, and remained there till he heard farther Tidings. The King hearing of his Departure and Absence, sent certain Noblemen to the Castle of *Dumbar*, and required the same to be delivered to the King and his Captains, which obediently was rendered at the King's Pleasure. This being done, the King past to *Edinburgh*, and there remained a While at his Pleasure, void of all Fear, Dread or Danger, which he suspected before to come by Prophecy of the Witch; and also past his Time with Flatterers in all Parts of *Scotland*, at his Pleasure, thinking then that there was no Man that had him at that Time at Envy, but he might safely persevere in his Pleasure as he thought best.

IN this Time *Cochran* grew so familiar with his Grace, that nothing was done in Court without him: And all Men that would have had their Business dressed with the King's Grace, came to *Cochran*, and made him Forespeaker for them, and gave him large Money to dress their Business. Therethrough he became so rich and puissant, and of such Substance, that no Man might strive with him. But he knowing the King's Nature, that he was covetous upon Money, and loved them better that gave him Money, than they that took from him: For the which Cause the said *Cochran* gave the King large Sums of Money; wherethrough he obtained the Earldom of *Mar* from the King, and was possessed in the same; and ever clamb higher and higher in Court, till that he had no Peir nor Comparison, of no Lord of *Scotland*, Spiritual or Temporal, into the King's Favour. Whatever was done in Court or Council with the King, nothing was done or concluded but by him; nor no Man durst say that his Proceedings were wicked or evil, or unprofitable for the Commonweal, but he would have his Indignation, and cause punish him for the same. He had such Credence of the King, that he gave him Leave to strike Money of his own, as if he had been a Prince. And when the People would have refused the said Money, which was called a *Cochran-Plak*, and said to him that it would be cried down; he answered and said, *That Day he would be hanged that they were cried down*. Which shortly thereafter fell out as he prophesied, as ye shall hear: For this *Cochran* had such Authority in Court, and Credence of the King, that no Man got Credence or Audience of the King but by his Moyan. So all that would esteem him, or flatter him, or give him Gear, their Matters were dressed according to their own Pleasure, whether it were just or unjust, or against the Commonweal; all was alike unto him: For he cared not the Welfare of the Realm, or the Honour, so that he might have his own singular Profit, and Estimation in Court. So he abused this noble Prince, that none was received in Court, nor no Kind of Offices, but they that would obey to him, and be of his Faction. So, by this Means, the prudent Lords Counsel was refused, and their Sons were absent from the King's Service: For no Man durst come to serve the King, but he that was a Flatterer of *Cochran*, and thought all Things well done that he counselled the King to do. By this Way the King lost many of the Hearts of the Lords of *Scotland*, and also of their Sons and Brether, that were young Men, who fain would have served the King's Majesty, but they could get no Place for this *Cochran* and his Com-

Company ; nor no Casualty could fall to the King in *Scotland*, but it was disposed by the Advice of this *Cochran*, and not by Counsel of the Lords of Parliament, neither Spiritual nor Temporal.

THE which Proceedings moved the Lords of *Scotland* to fall from the King, and set their Intent to find Remedy to the same ; which made a Convention among themselves, and there to consult how they might best bring the King to defend his Realm in Justice and Equity, whereby the Commonweal might flourish, and the King's Honour not diminished ; and to put such Noblemen about him to serve him, as were convenient for such a Prince ; whereby Virtue might be maintained, and Vice punished ; whereby he might win the Favour of his Lords and Barons, and bring his Realm in such Peace and Rest as his Father left it to him. And, upon this Conclusion, the Lords sent a wise Man to the King, declaring their Minds to him in Manner and Form as after follows : *That is to say, They desire the King's Grace, To leave young Counsel and unhoneft, which looked not to the King's Honour, and the Commonweal of the Country, nor to the Administration of Justice ; but to their particular Profits. And desired him, To leave all Fear and Dread, and put Suspicion out of his Heart towards his Nobles ; and take the Counsel of his wise Lords, how he should rule himself in the Government of his Realm, and in the Administration of Justice, and Defence against Enemies, and maintaining of his Commonwealth. And if his Grace would use their Counsel in this Manner, they would all live and die with him in Defence of his Honour, and Commonwealth of the Country. And if he would not incline to their Counsel in this Manner, they took God to witness, that they should be guiltless of the Misgovernment of the Realm ; and the Charge should ly to him, both before God and Man, that they should be declared innocent, if any Mischief fell, at that Time, in the Country.*

THE King answered to their Petition, saying, *He had no Counsel in the Government of his Realm, but Lords Counsels as they were : And, as to his Company, they pleased him for the Time, because he could see or perceive, at that Time, no better for him : And let them to understand, that he would not put a Man forth of his Company for their Pleasure ; for he believed that they were trusty and true that served in his Company ; and he could not believe them, because ever, when the one Half of them was against him, the other Half was with him, and of his Opinion : Yet, notwithstanding, he promised, when the whole Lords were convened together, and concluded in one Voice, he would be content to use their Counsel in all Things, and specially in Defence of his Realm, and Liberty thereof.*

THE Lords, hearing this Answer of the King's, were not half-well-content of the same ; but yet they bair fair till they saw their Time, knowing they could do nothing more in the Matter, till they were together in the Fields in Camp or Battle. To that Effect some of them caused the Borders to be broken, and other some ly still, and make no Defence ; wherethrough came great Reif and Heryships in all Countries,

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and great Slaughter betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; wherethrough the Land was so wasted by *England*, and by the Thieves of *Anandale*, that nothing was plenished into *Edinburgh*.

WHEN the Lamentation and Cries of the Poor came before the King, he was heavily commoved, and caused to make Proclamation through the Realm, and to all and sundry his Lieges, Earls, Lords, Barons and Freeholders, and all substantial Gentlemen, yea, and all Manner of Man betwixt sixty and sixteen, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to compear and assemble upon the *Borrow-muir* of *Edinburgh*, in their best Array, with forty Days Victual, to pass forward with the King where he pleased, in Defence of the Realm.

THE *English*-Men, hearing of this Proclamations, made great Provision for the same, thinking that they would defend themselves and their Borders contrary the *Scots* at that Time; for they had to their Lieutenant and Chiftain, the Duke of *Glocester*, who was their principal Counsellor, and great Lieutenant to *Edward* the new King.

NOTWITHSTANDING, the *Scottish* Camp came peartly forward at the King's Commandment unto the Place that was appointed, *that is to say*, upon the *Borrow-muir*, convened the whole Number of Lords, Barons, and great Men and Borrows, fifty thousand fighting Men, by Carriage-Men and Borderers. The King took certain Artillery with him out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and made *Cochran*, Earl of *Mar*, Convoyer of the same, and past forward to *Sowtray* the first Night; and, on the Morn, past to *Lawder*, and there planted down his Pallions betwixt the Kirk and the Town, and there abode that Night. While, on the Morn, all the whole Lords of *Scotland* convened in the Kirk of *Lawder* to a Council, and there to consult what was best to be done, for the Commonweal of the Realm, and Defence of the Borders; or if they should pass with the King, at his Pleasure, at that Time. Some wise and ancient Lords answered and said, *He was not their King, nor guided not by them, nor their Counsel, but made Fellows, Masons, to be Lords and Earls in the Place of Noblemen*: That is to say, *He hath banished the noble Duke of Albany, his Brother, and hath forfaitured and slain the Earl of Mar, his other Brother, and hath made Cochran, that was but a Mason, to fulfil his Room; wherewith they could not be contented till they had such Things reformed.*

UPON this they chused out some wise Lords, to the Number of twenty four: *That is to say*, The Earl of *Angus* Principal of the Council, Lord *Avendale*, who was Chancellor for the Time, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, *Orkney*, *Crawford* and *Bodwell*, the Lords *Hume*, *Fleming*, *Gray*, *Drummond* and *Seaton*, with certain Bishops; the which Lords convened foresaid, and had advised ripely in this Cause. They concluded whole, with one Voice, That the King should be taken softly, without harming of his Body, and convoyed, with certain Gentlemen, unto the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to remain there till they saw further; and, in the mean Time, to take *Cochran*, the Earl of *Mar*, and all the

Lave of the King's Familiars, and immediately hang them over the Bridge of *Lawder*.

By this was advised and spoken by thir Lords foresaid, *Cochran*, the Earl of *Mar*, came from the King to the Council, ( which Council was holden in the Kirk of *Lawder* for the Time ) who was well accompanied with a Band of Men of War, to the Number of three hundred light Axes, all clad in white Livery, and black Bends thereon, that they might be known for *Cochran* the Earl of *Mar*'s Men. Himself was clad in a Riding-Pie of black Velvet, with a great Chain of Gold about his Neck, to the Value of five hundred Crowns ; and four blowing Horns, with both the Ends of Gold and Silk, set with precious Stones. His Horn was tipped with fine Gold at every End, and a precious Stone, called a *Berryl*, hanging in the Midst. This *Cochran* had his *Heumont* born before him overgilt with Gold ; and so were all the rest of his Horns ; and all his Pallions were of fine Canvas of Silk, and the Cords thereof fine twined Silk ; and the Chains upon his Pallions were double overgilt with Gold.

THIS *Cochran* was so proud in his Conceit, that he counted no Lords to be Marrows to him, therefore he rushed rudely at the Kirk-door. The Council enquired who it was that perturbed them at that Time. Sir *Robert Douglas*, Laird of *Lochlevin*, was Keeper of the Kirk-door at that Time, who enquired who that was that knocked so rudely ; and *Cochran* answered, *This is I, the Earl of Mar*. The which News pleased well the Lords, because they were ready boun to cause take him, as is afore rehearsed. Then the Earl of *Angus* past hastily to the Door, and with him Sir *Robert Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, there to receive in the Earl of *Mar*, and so many of his Complices who were there, as they thought good. And the Earl of *Angus* met with the Earl of *Mar* as he came in at the Door, and pulled the golden Chain from his Craig, and said to him, *A Tow would set him better*. Sir *Robert Douglas* syne pulled the Blowing-Horn from him in like Manner, and said, *He had been the Hunter of Mischief over long*. This *Cochran* asked, *My Lords, Is it Mows or Earnest ?* They answered and said, *It is good Earnest, and so thou shalt find : For thou and thy Complices have abused our Prince this long Time, of whom thou shalt have no more Credence, but shall have thy Reward according to thy good Service, as thou hast deserved in Times bypast ; right so the rest of thy Followers*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Lords held them quiet, till they caused certain armed Men to pass into the King's Pallion, and two or three wise Men to pass with them, and give the King fair pleasant Words, till they laid Hands on all the King's Servants, and took them and hanged them, before his Eyes, over the Bridge of *Lawder*. Incontinent they brought forth *Cochran*, and his Hands bound with a Tow, who desired them to take one of his own Pallion-Tows, and bind his Hands ; for he thought Shame to have his Hands bound with such Tow of Hemp, like a Thief. The Lords answered, *He was a Traitor, he served no better*. And, for Despight, they took a Hairn-Tether, and hanged him over the  
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the Bridge of *Latoder*, above the rest of his Complices ; and made a Proclamation, and cried down his Cunzie ; which fulfilled his own Prophecy foresaid : That he might be Example to all simple mean Persons not to climb so high, and intend so great Things in Court, as he did : For, at his Beginning, he was but Prentice to a Mason ; and, within few Years, he became very ingynous in that Craft, and bigged many Stone-Houses with his Hands in the Realm of *Scotland* : And, because he was cunning in Craft, not long after the King made him Master-Mason ; and, after this, *Cochran* clamb so high, higher and higher, till he came to this Fine, as is rehearsed.

THE King was taken Captive himself, and was had to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, by the Convoy of his Lords, and none escaped that was of his Company, I mean his secret Servants or Cubiculars, but were hanged ; except a young Man called *John Ramsay*, who was saved by the King's Request ; who, for Refuge, lap on the Horse behind the King, to save his Life. This Sir *John Ramsay* was Laird of *Balmain*, and afterward Treasurer of *Scotland*. This Act was done in the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and eighty one Years, in *August*.

AND, after this a long Time, the King remained still in the Castle of *Edinburgh* as Captive, and had certain Lords in Company with him, that took heed and kept him, and served and honoured him as a Prince ought to be : For he was not put there as a Prisoner, but for the maintaining of the Commonweal. They gave him Liberty to use Directions, and all Gifts of Casualties and Properties of his Realm, at his own Pleasure : For nothing was derogate from him, that pertained to him by Reason of his Authority. And Letters of Commandments and Proclamations were made and given in his Name, like as they were before, at his Inputting ; nor no other Regent nor Governor chosen in that mean Time : But every Lord, within his own Bounds, was sworn to minister Justice, and to cause Steuth, Reif and Slaughter to be punished within themselves, or else to bring the Doers of the same to the King's Justice to *Edinburgh*, to be punished, or else to answer for the Crimes themselves, to be holden Doers of the same.

BY this Way there was some Peace and Rest in the Country, the Space of three Quarters of a Year ; till, at last, the King would been out of the Castle, at his Liberty, as he was before ; notwithstanding he could, on no Ways, obtain his Purpose at his Pleasure, but if he would bind himself unto the Lords Counsel that were his Inputters, and give them Pledges therefore, and observe and keep the same ; which he, on no Ways, would do. Some that were secret Friends to him came and gave him Counsel, to speak with the Earl of *Douglas*, who was Captive in the Castle of *Edinburgh* at that Time. Thir said Friends desired the King to take the Earl of *Douglas* in his Favour, and remit all Things bygone, and restore him unto his Lands again, who was forfaulted before a long Time : Shewing the King, that if he would bear with him, at this Time, that the Earl of *Douglas* was able to fortify and defend him, and to bring him to that Purpose that he would have been at. Notwithstanding

standing the King was very glad of his Counsel, and desired to speak with him; who was brought incontinent to intercommune with him about the said Matter. But the Earl of *Douglas* was so high on the other Part, and presumptuous in his own Mind, that he gave the King no due Reverence as he ought to have done, but high and presumptuous Words; which became him not to have given his Prince at that Time, considering his Subjection and Captivity: Therefore the King thought him so proud in his Answering, that they parted worse Friends than they met. And the King made a singular Vow, That he should never be relieved out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, if he might keep him into it: For, by his proud Speaking, he was liker to be a King than he. And the King feared him as much as any of the rest, if he had been at Liberty. So he left him in this Manner, and communed no more with him; and shew him, that gave him the Counsel, the whole Manner, who was very discontent at the same. But some gave Counsel to send to his Brother, the Duke of *Albany*, a familiar Letter, declaring to him the Cause how it stood, desiring him to pass to *Edward* of *England*, the new King, desiring Support of him and his Council, whereby he might be relieved out of the said Castle of *Edinburgh*, and to be avenged on his Inputters; promising, if any such Things occur in *England* toward King *Edward*, he should be ready, with all his Power, to his Support.

THESE Letters were directed immediately to the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother, who was then in *Berwick* for the Time, and received the King's Writing very thankfully, requiring, of the King and Council of *England*, the same Support to his Brother, as his Writing made Mention thereof.

THE King and Council of *England*, being advised thereupon, denied any Support to be given to the King of *Scotland*, without they wist wherefore; because they had charged him sundry Times for Support, and got none: Notwithstanding, would the King of *Scotland* be content to render *Berwick* again unto them, they would grant him such Support that would relax him. The Duke of *Albany* answered and said, *He had no Commission in that Manner; but promised that he should shew his Brother the King of England's Desire and his Counsel, and bring Answer thereupon.* And, shortly after this, the Duke of *Albany* writ to his Brother the King of *Scotland*, shewing him the Answer and Mind of the King and Council of *England*, *And that they desired the Town of Berwick to be rendred again, betwixt Year and Day, in English-Mens Hands; and if the King of Scotland would promise to do the same, at the Terms foresaid, and send his Great Seal thereupon, they would incontinent grant to all his Desires: That is to say, To set him at Liberty, and make him to have Power to punish whom he pleased, that had transgressed against him: Providing always that the King of Scotland would deliver to them certain Pledges till the said Town of Berwick was rendred.*

THIS Matter pleased well the King of *Scotland*, saying, *If all England were his, he had rather render it, than to be bolden in Captivity with*

with his own. And, to this Effect, he sent to his Brother, the Duke of *Albany*, to grant their Desires, and to promise the same to the Council of *England*; and sent four Lords Sons in Pledges of the same.

THE Duke of *Albany* received his Brother's Commission and the Pledges foresaid, and thereafter past to *London* to the King of *England*, and Council thereof, and shew him how he had sped, and promised the King, that all his Desires should be granted; and shew him the King of *Scotland*'s Commission under the great Seal, and delivered him the Pledges for Observation of his Promise.

UPON the which the King of *England* was very well content, and received the Duke of *Albany*'s Pledges thankfully, and treated them well: And incontinent thereafter caused the Duke of *Glocester*, his great Lieutenant, with ten thousand chosen Men, to pass in *Scotland* with the Duke of *Albany*, wherever he pleased, and to come with him so long as he pleased, in Defence and Support of the King of *Scotland*, his Brother; and promised, that they should want no Furnishing nor Expences, ay and till the King of *Scotland* was put at Liberty, and revenged upon his Enemies. And incontinent thir Noblemen came in *Scotland*, the twentieth Day of *August*, the Year of God, One thousand four hundred and eighty two; and planted their Pallions upon the *Borrow-muir* of *Edinburgh*, and there made Provision for their Army. And then the *Scottish* Lords, seeing this, afraid of their King, which caused them to draw together to the Council; where soon after compeared the Duke of *Albany*, with the Duke of *Glocester*, within the Town, with the Number of a thousand Gentlemen, and entred into the Tolbooth, before the Lords of *Scotland*, who were sitting then in Council; and they reverently saluted the Duke of *Albany*, and welcomed him Home, and desired of him what was his Petition. He answered again, *I desire the King's Grace, my Brother, to be put to Liberty.* Which was granted to him incontinently. But the Chancellor answered and said, *My Lord, we will grant you your Petition and Desire: But, as to that Man that is with you, we know him not, nor will grant nothing to his Desire: But we know you to be the King's Brother, and, next unto the King's Son, second Person of Scotland, and a Favourer of Justice and Commonweal thereof: Therefore the King's Grace shall be at your Pleasure, to use him as you think good, beseeeking you therefore to cause him use wise and prudent Counsel in Time coming, which regards his Honour and Commonweal of the Country; which being done, I trust the King shall be out of Suspicion of his Barons, which have been troublous to him in Time bypast, and caused us, that were his Lords, to do these Things, which stood not to his Contentment; because he would not use our Counsel, but used all Things at his own Pleasure, and their Counsel who were Familiars for the Time, who were not worthy to have been with a King, nor to have given a Prince Counsel, but rather to have holden the Plough, or to have kept Sheep or Neat: Therefore I pray your Lordship, to cause him use better Counsel in Time coming, whereby your Lordship may have Honour of the Labours which you have made at this Time for his Deliverance.*

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AND when the said Chancellor had ended his Oration, the Duke of *Albany* and the Duke of *Glocester* departed from the Council, and went toward the Castle to receive the King; and two Heralds of Arms were commanded to pass with them, to charge the Captain to make the Gates open, and set the King's Grace at Liberty.

THIS being done, the King came forth out of the Castle to the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother, and there lap on a Hackney to ride down to the *Abbey*: But he would not ride forward, till the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother, lap on behind him; and so they went down the Geat to the *Abbey of Holy-rood-house*, where they remained a While, till all the Lords had come, and made their due Obedience to the King, by the Duke of *Albany's* Advice.

THEREAFTER the King past to *Stirling*, and through many Parts of *Scotland*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany* and the Duke of *Glocester*, Lieutenant to the King of *England*; and with him two thousand Horsemen, and five hundred Footmen, upon the King of *England's* Expences; and thereafter sent Home the rest of his Armies in *England* again, and remained himself for them, one Day, with the King of *Scotland*, with the foresaid Number.

AND, in this mean Time, the King put certain Lords in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in Ward, who were the Counsellors of the most Part of his Inputting, which were in Number sixteen; to wit, The Earl *Bodwell*, Lord *Hume*, Lord *Avendale* Chancellor for the Time, Lord *Gray*, Lord *Drummond*, the Lord of *Eglintoun*, Lord *Fleming*, Lord *Seaton*, Lord *Maxwel*, with sundry other great Barons: And the King was advised, at that Time, to have justified them, were not the Counsel of the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother. The Earl of *Angus* also shew himself familiar, at that Time, with the Duke and King, and did what he could to save the Lords from Justifying in the King's Fury.

AFTER this, a long While, the King had good Peace and Rest through all *Scotland*, through the Counsel of the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother; who, soon after, married the Earl of *Orkney's* Daughter, and got upon her a Son, called *Alexander*, who after was Bishop of *Murray*: But, not long after that, parted with the Earl of *Orkney's* Daughter, and past in *France*, and was married upon the Dutchess of *Bullon*. But this Duke of *Albany* had great Indignation of many of the Lords of *Scotland*, because of fortifying and maintaining of the King's Grace in his particular Affairs; and gave him the sole Wyte that so many of the Lords were captive at that Time; and for the rendring of *Berwick* lately, conform to his Promise, and the King of *Scotland's* Commission, who gave him Commandment and Power to render the same for his Relief; yet the Lords could not stand content therewith, but alledged it to be Treason, and would fain had some Crime to have accused the Duke of *Albany* thereof, and to have put a new Suspicion betwixt him and his Brother, thinking on no Ways how they could get their Intent and Will of the King, except the Duke were cut off. To this Effect they caused certain Flatterers



Flatterers and evil Speakers to shew the King, That the Duke of *Albany* intended to have the Crown ; for he was liker to be King than the King himself, as he proceeded ; for he disposed all Things pertaining to the Crown : And caused the King understand, that he would fulfil the Prophecy of the Witch, that prophesied to the King, That one of the nearest of his Kin should destroy him.

THEIR Words, and such other wicked Counsellors, made the King so afeared of the Duke of *Albany*, that he would have been content to have been quyte of him with his Honesty. Notwithstanding all the Labours and Travels he had sustained for the King's Welfare, and Deliverance of him out of Captivity, all his good Service was forgot by their Flattery, and the Fear the King took of him, by Perswasion of wicked Persons, who caused the King to summon the Duke, his Brother, before the Council, for such Points of Treason as after follow : *That is to say*, For rendring of the Town of *Berwick* in the *English*-Mens Hands, without Council or Commission of the Lords of *Scotland* ; yet, notwithstanding, the Duke compeared peartly before the King and Council, and produced the King's Commission under his Great Seal, for to render the same, to the Effect, that Support might come to the King for his Deliverance. But the Lords alledged, That the King's Commission was of no Effect at that Time, because he was in Ward, and did it not by the Counsel of his Nobility and Lords of this Realm : Therefore the Lords and Council, for the Time, convicted the Duke of *Albany*, and sent him to the Castle, to remain in Prison.

IN this mean Time, the Earl of *Angus* got the whole Lords, that were in Ward, relieved, upon Caution to enter again, when the King pleased, in Ward, or in Parliament, under the Pain of ten thousand Pound for ilk one of them. So, after this, they counselled the King to justify the Duke of *Albany*, his Brother : Thinking, if they were quyte of him, they would do with the King what they pleased ; for they stood such Awe of the Duke of *Albany*, they durst not meddle with the King, nor put Hand on him, so long as the said Duke was on Life : Wherefore thir Conspirators desired, at all Times, to have this Duke put to Death, trusting the better to come to their Purpose of the King thereafter. Notwithstanding, the secret Treason was known in *France*, by some Moyer of them that favoured the Duke : And therefore there came a *French* Ship out of *France* hastily into *Scotland*, with secret Writings to the Duke, who was then in Prison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to advertise him, That it was concluded by the King and Council, that he should be justified upon a certain Day, which was the Day after the Ship strake in the Road of *Leith*, beside the *New-Haven*, and gave himself forth as a Passenger with Wine, and sent up Word to the Castle to the Duke, if he would have any of their Support. When he heard thir Novels, he desired of the Captain Licence for to send for two Bosses of Wines, who gave him Leave gladly, and provided the Bosses himself : And then the Duke sent his familiar Servant to the *French* Ship, and prayed him to send two Bosses full of *Malvesy* ; which he obeyed thankfully : And, in one of the Bosses, he put a Roll of Wax, wherein was closed

closed a secret Writing, which shew the Duke such Tidings as he was not content with : But, in the other Bofs, there were certain Fathoms of Cords, to support him in his Need, at that Time. The Boffes were of the Quantity of two Gallons the Piece ; wherefore they were the less to be known, that there was ought in them but the Wine. Notwithstanding, the Man that brought the Wine sped him fast again to his Master, and shew him certain Things by Tongue that this Stranger spake to him. And that Night the Duke called the Captain to the Supper, and promised him a Drink of good Wine ; who gladly accepted the same, and came to him incontinent, and supped with him. The Duke gave his Chamber-Chiel Command, that he should drink no Wine that Night, but keep himself fresh, for he knew not what he had ado : Therefore he prayed him to beware with himself ; and if there arose any Thing amongst them, he prayed him to take his Part, as he would be a good Master to him thereafter.

WHEN Supper was done, the Captain passed to the King's Chamber, to see what he was doing, who was then lodged in the Castle ; and when he had visited him, he gart steik the Gates, and set the Watch-Men ; and thereafter came again to the Duke's Chamber to the Collation ; and after they had drunk their Collation, and all Men were in their Beds, the Duke and the Captain went to the Tables, and played for the Wine. The Fire was very hot, and the Wine was strong, and the Captain and his Men became merry ; while, at last, the Duke of *Albany* perceived his Time, and made a Sign to his Chamber-Chiel to be ready, as he had instructed him before : For, at that Time, the Duke thought there was no Remedy, but either to die or do ; because that he was surely advertised, by the *French Ship*, That he was to be headed upon the Morn : Therefore he thought best to preveen the Time, and put his Life in Jeopardy ; for if he slipped that Occasion, he would not find the like : Therefore he put himself in a Venture, and lap from the Board, and struck the Captain with a Whinger, and slew him, and also stuck other two with his own Hand ; and, in the mean Time, his Chamber-Chiel was very busy ; and so the two overthrew four, *that is to say*, The Captain and his three Servants ; and when they had done cast them in the Fire ; and afterward took out their Tows, and passed to the Wall of the Castle, at a quiet Place, where the Watch-Men might have no Sight of them, and there stretched their Cords over the Wall ; and the Duke let down his Chamber-Chiel : But the Tow was short, he fell and brake his Thigh-Bone ; and thereafter cried to his Master, and bade him make the Tow longer, for he was gone. The Duke rave the Sheets of his Bed, and made the Tow longer, and passed down himself safely : And when he came down, he perceived his Servant lying in Point of his Life. He took him up upon his Back, and bure him as far as he might win away, and left him in a quiet Place, where he might be safe ; and syne went to the *New-Haven*, and made a Sign to the Ship ; who sent her Boat to the Land for him, and received him up into the Ship ; but I know not if his Servant went with him or not : But surely many Gentlemen of *Scotland* wished to have been with him ; amongst the rest, *Sir Alexander Fardin*, Laird of *Applegirth*, he passed with him, and

and sundry other Gentlemen. But, on the Morrow, when the Watches perceived the Tow was hinging over the Wall, they ran to seek the Captain, to have shown him the Manner ; but he was not in his Chamber ; they could not get him. Then they passed to the Duke's Chamber, and there they fand the Door standing open, and a dead Man lying stiked ; and also they saw the Captain, and the two other, in the Fire, burnt, which was very dolorous and fearful unto them ; but they mist the Duke of *Albany* and his Chamber-Chiel. They ran speedily and told the King how the Manner had happened, that the Captain was slain and his Servants : But the King would give no Credence to them, till he went himself to see how the Matter stood ; and saw the Captain and his Men dead lying burnt in the Fire. Then considered he the whole Case how it stood, and caused the Gates to be holden close, that no Word should pass to the Town, till he had searched all the Place, to see if the Duke had been in the Castle or not : But when he, on no Ways, could find him, he caused send all his Horsemen into all Parts and Countries, to see if they could apprehend him in any Place, and bring him to the King again, and they should have great Reward therefore : But, on no Ways, they could get him, or yet wit of him ; till, at the last, a Man came out of *Leith*, and shew the King, that there came a Boat out of the *French* Ship, and took in certain Men, and thereafter took up their Sail and travished up and down the Firth. They judged all to be the Duke, as it was true : For he past into *France* incontinent, and was well received of the King, and got the Dutchess of *Bullon* in Marriage, and got upon her *John Stuart*, which, after him, was Duke of *Albany* and Governor of *Scotland*.

BUT we will leave off them, and turn to our History, how, at the Hour of nine, the whole Lords came up to the Castle to the King, to see what Order should be taken with the Execution of his Brother, the Duke of *Albany*, in what Place he should be headed : But when they knew how the Matter stood, there were some of them very sorry, thinking that he would quite them a Common, if he lived. But other some that favoured him, and knew that he was innocent, were well content that he had freed himself in that Manner, thinking that they would hear better Tidings of him another Day ; yet the King was very commoved at the Slaughter of the Captain of the Castle ; but he was more fearful at the Departure of the Duke, that he was so escaped, thinking on the vain Suspicion that was put in his Head, toward his Brother, by the Witch, and the Inchantment of the Devil : Thinking ever, that he should not be satisfied in his Mind, unless his Brother had been put to Death, like as the Earl of *Mar* was put to Dead before. But from Time that he was sure advertised, that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was intertained in *France* by the King and Council, and had gotten the Dutchess of *Bullon* in Marriage, in that Respect he thought he would never return to *Scotland* again hastily, because he was both forefaulted, and had broken his Ward, and made Slaughter therein. Yet, notwithstanding, the Lords took Fear ever of his Returning, and therefore durst never execute their Intents, till they knew surely he was dead. And, in this mean Time, the King past through all *Scotland*, at his Pleasure, with Peace and Rest.

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AND, in this mean Time, there were great Wars in *England*, betwixt *Edward* the Duke of *York*, which usurped the Kingdom of *Harry VI.* imprisoned; and the Duke of *Clarence*, with his Wife, with other certain of his Kin and Friends, past to *Normandy* at that Time, to remain there with the Duke, his Good-Brother, till he saw further. And we return to our History again.

KING *James III.* being in good Peace and Rest the most Part of that Year, he went to *Stirling*, as we have shown you, and remained there. He took such Pleasure to dwell there, that he left all the Castles and Towns in *Scotland*, because he thought it most pleasant dwelling there, and founded a College within the said Castle, called *The Chapel Royal*; and also he bigged *The Great Hall* of *Stirling*, within the said Castle: Also he made, into the Chapel Royal, all Kind of Office-Men, to wit, The Bishop of *Galloway*, Dean, and the Archdean, and the Treasurer and Subdean, Chantor and Subcantor, with all Kind of other Offices pertaining to a College; and also doubled them, to that effect, that they should ever be ready, the one Half, to pass with him wherever he pleased, that they might sing and play to him, and hold him merry; and the other Half should remain at Home, in the said Chapel, for to sing and pray for him and his Successors: And, for this Cause, he made great Foundation of the said Chapel Royal.

AND, in the mean Time, the Benefice of *Coldingham* vaked; and the King thought to have given the same to the Chapel Royal of *Stirling*: But the *Humes*, hearing of this, were in no Ways content; and specially *Andrew Hume* of *Fastcastle*, who had many Steddings in *Coldingham* in his Hands, for the Time, believing to get the same in Feu afterwards; because the *Humes* ever intended to have a Prior, in that Room, of their own Sirname: Wherefore they thought the King greatly to be their Enemy, because he intended to mell with any Thing that they had an Eye to, and specially the Priory of *Coldingham*. And, for this Cause, the *Humes* and *Hepburns*, with certain Lords and Barons of the Country (and, in special, the Lords that were put in the Castle for the Conspiracy of *Lawder-Bridge*) assembled together to Convention and Counsel against the King, and banded themselves; so that, whenever he laid any Thing to their Charge, they thought to be Party to him.

THE King, hearing of thir News, caused send a Herauld to thir foresaid Lords, and charged them and their Cautioners, to enter to underly the Law, within the Space of forty Days, for such Things as he was to lay to their Charge: But the Herauld was evil intreated in the Execution of the Summons, and was manifestly deforced, and his Letters riven. At the which the King took great Displeasure, and knew well there was nothing but Rebellion. For the which Cause the King passed to *Stirling*, and garnished the Castle with Men and Viſual, and made a Man, called *James Shaw*, Laird of *Sauckie*, alias *Hale*, Captain of the said Castle; and delivered him *James*, his eldest Son, in keeping, and commanded him straitly, as he loved his Honour and his Life, That  
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*he would let no Man enter in the said Castle, neither great nor small, till his Returning again ; nor yet let his Son pass out of the Castle to play at no Game, nor meet with no Man, but to keep him straitly within the said Castle, till his Returning.*

THIS being done, he came to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and furnished it in like Manner, and put his whole Poise of Gold and Silver in the said Castle ; and required the said Captain to watch wisely ; and shew to him, That he was to ride to the *North Land* amongst his Lords, and there to seek Counsel and Support of them against this new Rebellion. On the Morn he passed to *Leith*, and shipped in a Ship of Captain *Wood's*, which was bound to *Flanders* for the Time. Some of thir Conspirators, who heard tell of the King's Diet, followed fast after the King to *Leith*, and thought to have gotten him there ; but they mist him, and got Part of his Coffers with Money and Clothing : But they believed surely, because the King was in a Ship of Captain *Wood's*, which was bound to *Flanders*, that he was passing there himself ; and that caused them take the less Fear, and be the more hardy in spoiling his Servants. But the King caused the said Captain *Wood* to land him in *Fife*, and rode through the same into the *North Land*, into the Town of *Aberdeen*, and there to meet with all the *North-Land* Lords that favoured him, and would take his Part : But yet, ere he past, he left Word behind him, to the Sheriff of *Fife*, *Strathern* and *Angus*, to make Proclamation out through thir Shires, that all Men, betwixt sixty and sixteen, Spiritual and Temporal, as well Burgh as Land, that they should be ready, at a certain Day, at his Coming, to pass with him, where he pleased, to danton Rebels and Conspirators against him.

THE Rebels, hearing of this the King's Provision against them, sought all the Ways and crafty Means, they could, to make themselves able against the King, and all that would take his Part : Thinking either they should fight with the King, and give him Battle, or else cause him to the Flight out of *Scotland* ; and yet, because their Title was not good, they durst not attempt the same, because they knew the King to be well loved with all the Commons and Borrows ; and, in special, with all the ancient Lords and Barons of the Country, who were so wise, that they knew the Danger what it was to rebel against a crowned King.

THEIR Motives, and other Things, were a Hinder to thir Conspirators to put Hand in their Prince : But certain of the eldest, to wit, The Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Avendale*, the Earl of *Bodwell*, the Lord *Hume*, with diverse others, concluded, by their Counsel, not to mell with the King, without they had the Prince, his Son, in their Hands ; and to this Purpose they concluded all ; and thereto found the crafty Moyer : *That is to say*, They send a Messenger quietly to the Captain of *Stirling*, desiring him affectuously, That he would come and speak with them, for his own Well and singular Profit ; who was very loath to come to them : But yet, at last, they made him so fair Promises, and gave him such Gifts of Gold and Silver, that he was finally corrupt, and brought to their Purpose, to grant all the Petitions they desired

desired of him at that Time, *to wit*, That he should deliver the Prince in their Hands incontinent, and keep the Castle still in the Prince's Name and theirs; and that he should not receive the King in Time coming, nor none of his, in the said Castle. For this Cause they gave him great Sums of Money, and he immediately delivered the Prince unto them; who went with him to *Lithgow*, and there made Proclamations to all Manner of Men that would come and defend the Prince, because they alledged, That the King had Suspicion at his Son, and at them, like as he had to his Brethren before; and was coming, with a great Army, to take him and put him in Prison: Therefore they desired all Men, that loved the Commonwealth, to come and defend the Prince: And also they fied their Waggon and Men of War to pass with them, with the King's own Money which they got at *Leith*, and passed all forward with the Prince against the King's Coming; who knew nothing of this Treason, wrought at this Time by the Captain of *Stirling*, nor yet of the Deliverance of his Son; but peartly came forward with all the *North of Scotland*: That is to say, *Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Mar and Murray, Buchan and Merns, Angus, Gowry, Fife, Strathern, Stirling-Shire, Athole, Argyle*, with some of the Lords of the *West Land* that favoured him: For there were none in all this foresaid Shires but they took Part with him, both Gentlemen and Commons, allenarly, except the Lord *Gray* in *Angus*, and the Lord *Drummond* in *Strathern*, who were with the other Party against the King.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King came peartly forward to *St. Johnstoun*, and there warned all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Fife*, to meet with him, with the whole Commons thereof, both on Horse and Foot; who came obediently to the King, and with them in Company Lord *David Lindesay* of *The Byres*, as Captain and Lieutenant to them, at the King's Command; for he had been long in *France* before, and was well experimented in Wars: Therefore the King thought him most able, at that Time, to give him Charge, because he knew him hardy, and true to his Grace sundry Times before, when he had ado: Therefore the Lord *David* met with him at *St. Johnstoun*, with three thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen, all ready to wair their Lives with him, in his Defence. The said Lord *David* himself riding upon a great gray Courser, he lighted down, and made his Obedience to the King; and thereafter presented the said Courser to the King, shewing his Grace, That if he had ado in his Extremity, either to flee or follow, that Horse should war all the Horse of *Scotland*, at his Pleasure, if he would fit well. The King thanketh him greatly. *Alexander* Lord *Ruthven*, Sheriff of *Strathern*, brought to him a well-favoured Company of Men, *to wit*, A thousand Gentlemen, well horsed with Jack and Spear, a thousand Bows, a thousand half-long Swords and Habergeons; which contained in the whole three thousand, with *St. Johnstoun*, which past all in Company with the Sheriff; and all the rest of the *North-Land* Men and *West-Land* Men met the King at *Stirling*. So the King was of Number, when he entred into *Stirling*, thirty thousand able Men, by Commons. He passed into the Castle incontinent, and desired to be in: But the Captain denied, and refused to receive the King. Then he desired

fired to see his Son for to speak with him. The Captain refused that in the like Manner, and said, *He would not speak with him at that Time.* Yet the King inquired gently where he was; and he shew him that he was with the Lords, who took him against his Will. Then the King answered and said, *Fy Traitor, thou hast deceived me; and, if I live, I shall be revenged on thee, and thou shalt be rewarded as thou hast served.*

THE King thereafter past to the Town, and lodged all Night, and caused a strait Watch of his Army to stand about the Town that Night; while, on the Morrow, that the Day brake, the King rose, and his Council and Lords that were with him, and past forward to the *Torwood* in arrayed Battle, and there planted down till more came to him. But the King's Enemies, on the other Side, peartly came forward to the Water of *Carron*, above the Bridge, about the Number of twelve thousand Horsemen, and six thousand Footmen, and planted there that Night. While, on the Morn, there came wise Men, on both the Sides, to treat of Peace: But the King seeing that he was so great of Power above his Enemies, who had risen and rebelled against him, then the King arrayed his Battle, and made forward to the Fields, and put all his Men in Order, as after follows: *That is to say*, Ten thousand Men of *Highland-Men*, with Bows, in the Vanguard; the Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Athole* Leaders of the said Host. In the Rereguard ten thousand Men of the *West Land* and *Stirling-Shire*, with the Earl of *Menteith*, Lord *Erskine* and Lord *Graham*, Leaders of them. The King himself in great Battle, with all the Borrows and Commons of *Scotland*, on the one Wing. On the Right-Hand passed Lord *David* Earl of *Crawford*, and Lord *David Lindesay* of *The Byres*; with them in Company, of *Fife* and *Angus*, in Number two thousand Horsemen, and six thousand Footmen; and, on his Left-Hand and Wing, passed *Alexander* Lord *Ruthven*, with all *Strathern* and the *Stormont*, to the Number of five thousand Men.

THUS the King, being in Order, passed forward in arrayed Battle. The Word came to him, that his Enemies were in Sight. Then the King cried for his Horse, and lap upon the Horse that the Lord *David* had given, and rode to see and know the Manner of their Coming. The King beheld them in three Battles, to the Number of six thousand Men in every Battle; the *Humes* and the *Hepburns* having the Vanguard, with the *Merse* and *Teviotdale*, with the *East-Lothian*. And next them in Battle, *Liddisdale* and *Anandale*, and many of *Galloway*. And then came all the whole Lords that conspired against the King, and brought with them, in Company, the Prince, to be their Buckler and Safeguard; and hasted fast forward, with great Courage; because they knew the King's Faculties, that he was never hardy, nor yet constant in Battle. Then the King, seeing his Enemies coming forward with his own Banner displayed, and his Son against him, he remembered of the Words that the Witch spake to him before, *That he should be destroyed and put down by the nearest of his Kin*; which he saw apparently for to come to pass at that Time: And, by the Words of the foresaid Witch, Illu-  
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sion and Enticement of the Devil, he took a vain Suspicion in his Mind, that he hastily took Purpose to flee.

IN this mean Time, the Lords, seeing the King tyne Courage, desired him to pass by the Host till they had foughten the Battle: But, by this, the *Humes* and the *Hepburns* came so fast upon the King's Vanguard; and, on the other Side, they shot them so fast with Arrows, that they hurt and slew many of the Horses, and put them a-back: But, at the last, the Thieves of *Anandale* came in shooting and crying, and feared the King so, (having no Practice in War) that he took Purpose and ran his Way, and thought to win the Town of *Stirling*: But he spurred his Horse, at the Flight-Speed, coming through the Town of *Bannockburn*. A Woman seeing a Man coming fast upon his Horse, she standing in a Slonk bringing Home Water, she ran fast away, and left the Pig behind her: So the King's Horse, seeing this, lap over the Burn and Slonk, of free Will; but the King was evil sitting, and fell off his Horse at the Mill-door of *Bannockburn*, and was so bruised with the Fall, and Weight of his Harnes, that he fell in Swoon; and the Miller and his Wife haled him out of it into the Mill, not knowing what he was, but cast him in a Nuik, and covered him with a Cloth. While, at the last, the King's Host, knowing that the King was gone and fled, debated themselves manfully; and, knowing that they were Borderers and Thieves that dealt with them, therefore they had the more Courage for to defend themselves. At last they returned and fled in good Order, till they got the *Torwood*, and there debated a long Time, while Night came; and then many of the said Army passed to *Stirling*, and their Enemies following them, many were taken and hurt on both Sides, but few slain.

BUT, at last, when all the Host was passing by, and the Enemies returned again, the King overcame lying in the Mill, and cried if there was any Priest there to make his Confession. The Miller and his Wife, hearing thir Words, required of him, what Man he was, and what his Name was. He happened out unluckily, and said, *I was your King this Day at Morn*. Then the Miller's Wife clapt her Hands, and ran forth, and cried for a Priest to the King. In the mean Time a Priest was coming by, (some say it was the Lord *Gray's* Servant) and he answered, *Here am I, a Priest; where is the King?* Then the Miller's Wife took the Priest by the Hand, and led him into the Mill where the King lay. Assoon as the said Priest saw the King, he knew him incontinent, and kneeled down upon his Knee, and speired at the King's Grace, *If he might live, if he had good Leiching*. Who answered him and said, *He trowed he might, but desired a Priest to take his Advice, and give him his Sacrament*. The Priest answered and said, *That I shall do hastily*. And pulled out a Whinger, and gave him four or five Strokes, even into the Heart; and then got him on his Back, and went away: But no Man wist what he did with him, or where he yearded him; for no Wit was gotten of him, or of his Dead, nor yet who slew him, a Month after. Notwithstanding the Battles were dissevered, in Manner as I have shewn, the King's Battle fled to *Stirling*; and the other passed that Night to their Tents, and on the Morn to *Lisgow*. I cannot hear



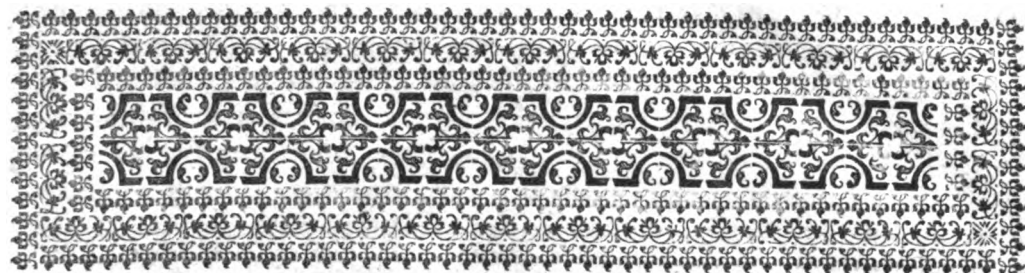
hear of no Man of Reputation that was slain at that Time ; but there were many Earls, Lords and Barons that were taken and ransomed. This unhappy Battle was stricken the Month of *June*, the eighteenth Day, One thousand four hundred and eighty eight Years.

THIS may be seen and known, as an Example to all Kings that come after, to give them a Lesson, that they fall not from God, using their wicked Lives to their own sensual Pleasures, and live by Inchantment of Sorcery or Witchcraft, to seek Knowledge or Support of the Devil, as this feeble King did : For it will cause them to fall in Suspicion with their Lieges and Kinsmen ; at last it shall cause them to use such Tyranny and Mischief in their Realm, by Illusion of the Devil.



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ING *James* III. unworthily slain in this Manner, as is afore said, *James* IV. and all the rest of the Conspirators that came against the King, passed to *Lithgow*, and there remained till they got Word if the King was slain or not.

IN this mean Time there came a Man to them in *Lithgow*, shewing to them, That there were two Ships of Captain *Wood*'s travishing up and down the Firth. Of the which Ships, the one was called *The Flower*, and the other *The Yellow Carnal*. They had had sent their Float-Boats to the Land, and received many hurt Men, out of the Field, into their Ships; of whom they believed the King should have been one of them.

THE which Tidings the Prince, and all the Lords that were with him, hearing, took Conjecture of the same, thinking that Captain *Wood* was principal Servant to the King at that Time, and having Wages of him, and furnished him and his Ships oftentimes, to pass where he pleased: Therefore they believed, that he should have waited on the King in the Field, and have brought him to the Ships. They, certified of this Matter, raised their Army, and came all to *Leith*, and there remained two Days; and, in the mean Time, sent Messengers to Captain *Wood*, desiring to know if the King was in the Ships, or not. Who denied

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denied, and said, *He was not there.* And bade them search and seek his Ships, at their own Pleasure, if they would not give him Credence. Upon his Answer the Messengers departed unto the Prince and Lords, shewing Captain *Wood's* Answer. Of the which the Prince and Lords could not be content; but sent Messengers again to Captain *Wood*, desiring him to come to the Council, that they might inquire of him how the Matter stood. But he, on the other Part, knowing that they had murdered his Master, in Manner as I have shown, took such Suspicion of them, that he would not come in their Hands, without Pledges that he should be safely delivered, without Harm and Skaith, again unto his Ship. Thir Answers the Messengers brought again unto the Prince and the Lords; who incontinent gart two Lords pass in Pledge for the said Captain *Wood*, till he should be delivered again unto his Ships, *to wit*, The Lord *Seaton* and the Lord *Fleming*, and there to remain in the said Ships till their Captain was delivered.

THIS being done, the Lords delivered into the Ships, the said Captain went aboard, and came to the Land, and presented himself before the Prince and the Lords, in the Town of *Leith*, for they were there for the Time: But, as soon as the Prince saw the said Captain present him before the Prince and the Lords, in the Town of *Leith*, with certain Gentlemen in Company, he believed surely he had been his Father, and inquired of him, *Sir, are you my Father.* Who answered him again, with Tears falling from his Eyes, *I am not your Father, but I was your Father's true Servant, and shall be to the Authority till I die, and Enemy to them who were the Occasion of his Down-putting.* The whole Lords required of Captain *Wood*, if he knew of the King, and where he was. He answered, *That he knew nothing of him, nor where he was.* Then they inquired what they were that came out of the Field, and passed to the Ships in the Float-boats. Who answered and said, *It was I and my Brother, ready with the King to have waired our Lives in his Defence.* Then they said, *Is he not in your Ships?* Who answered, *He is not: But would God he were there safely; I should defend and keep him skaithless from all the treasonable Traitors that have cruelly murdered him: For I think to see the Day, to see them hanged and drawn for their Demerits.*

THEN the Lords, seeing nothing of Captain *Wood*, but despitiful Answers and proud Speakings, were not content therewith; yet they durst not put Hands on him to do him Skaith, because of the Lords that were Pledges for him: For, if they had done him any Skaith, his Brother would incontinent hanged the Pledges; which, as it was, skaped narrowly, by Reason of the long Tarrying of the said Captain: Therefore the Lords hastened away the Captain to his Ships, and enquired no more Tidings of him.

THIS being done, the Lords were delivered, and came a-land again, that were Pledges, who were right freed; and shew the Prince and the Council, if they had holden Captain *Wood* any longer, they had been both hanged. At this the Prince and the Lords were very commoved, and

and desired certain Ships of *Leith*, to pass forth to the Firth incontinent, to take the said Captain *Wood* and bring him : And, to this Effect, they called all the Shippers and Mariners of *Leith* before the Council, to see which of them would take on Hand to pass upon the said Captain, and they should be furnished with Men, Artillery and Victuals, upon the Prince and the Lords their Expences : But the said Shippers and Mariners refused all ; but one Captain *Bartyne* answered before the Council, and said, *That there were not ten Ships in Scotland would give Captain Wood's two Ships the Combat : For he was so well practised in War, and had such Artillery and Men, that it was hard dealing with him by Sea or Land.*

THIS being spoken, the Prince and his Council considered the same ; and therefore continued that Matter till afterward ; and immediately passed to *Edinburgh*, and there remained a While ; and sent out Letters in all Parts, both in Burgh and Land, desiring the whole Lords and Nobility, and Commissioners of Borrows, to compare at *Edinburgh*, upon a certain Day, to see the King crowned, and give their Consent thereto. But few appeared, except some Commissioners of Borrows, and the Lords Conspirators themselves, who were Counsellors to the King for the Time ; and there they crowned the King : And, soon after, sent a Herald to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and desired the same to be rendred to the King and his Captains, which was done obediently : But the Captain thereof made such Moyer with the Lords of Council, and they that were Courtiers for the Time, that he was continued still in his Office. Some say, that he certified some of the Lords where the King's Poise was, and caused them obtain the same, which was the Cause of his Continuance in his Office.

THIS being done, the King passed to *Stirling*, and required the Castle to be rendred in the same Manner, which was done incontinent, and the King and his Court received therein, and a new Captain made thereof, to wit, Sir *John* of *Lundie*, Knight. The King remained a While in the Castle of *Stirling*, and daily passed to the Chapel Royal, and heard *Matins* and *Evening-Song* ; in the which every Day the Chaplains prayed for the King's Grace, deploring and lamenting the Death of his Father ; which moved the King, in *Stirling*, to Repentance, that he happened to be counselled to come against his Father in Battle, where-through he was murdered and slain. To that Effect he was moved to pass to the Dean of the said Chapel Royal, and to have his Counsel how he might be satisfied, in his own Conscience, of the Art and Part of the cruel Act, which was done to his Father. The Dean, being a godly Man, gave the King a good Comfort ; and, seeing him in Repentance, was very glad thereof : But yet this godly Man durst not utter his Mind unto the King, so far as his Conscience served him ; because the King was young and youthful, and had no Constancy to keep Counsel or secret Thought, albeit it was for his own Profit : And also this godly Man dreaded the Lords, and them that were Conspirators of the King's Dead, his Father ; thinking, that these Murderers would be discontent, and utterly displeased at him, if he had given the King his Counsel, so far as his Con-

Conscience dyted him : Therefore he continued the same till he saw the King farder in Age, and other Counsellors about him. In the mean Time he gave him fair Words, and put him in good Hope of Forgiveness thereof, by God's Mercy in Jesus Christ.

So the King continued in the said Castle a Season, but he was ever sad and dolorous in his Mind for the Death of his Father, that he was constrained, by his Conscience, to use a Sign of Repentance ; and, for the same Cause, gart make a Girth of Iron, and weared it daily about him, and eiked, every Year of his Life, certain Ounces of Weight thereto, as he thought good.

THE Lords seeing this, who were Conspirators, thinking in their Minds, That the King was dolorous, and ever musing in his Mind, thinking, that some Time he would be displeased with their Proceedings : Therefore they consulted among themselves, that they would counsel the King to their Effect while he was young. And also they feared the Lords, on the other Part, that were with the King's Father, the Time of his Slaughter, to have defended him : Thinking that they would get the King sometime at their Opinion, that they might be revenged of their Master's Death by their Conspiracy. And, for the same Cause, to avoid all such Suspicion whereby they might be challenged of the Fact, caused the King incontinent to set a Parliament, to be holden at *Edinburgh* within the Space of forty Days ; and summoned and warned all the whole Lords of *Scotland*, and great Barons thereof, and Commissioners of Borrows, to compear at *Edinburgh* the Day and Place foresaid, and there to hear and see Justice ministred, like as it was in Times before, and of their Forebeers. But there was a special Summons directed on them that were Parrakers with the King's Father, against himself ; and also of the Borrows ; which whole Number of the Lords was twenty eight, and twenty eight great Barons. This foresaid Number was summoned particularly, every one by himself, to compear at *Edinburgh*, upon the Space of forty Days, to answer there, *For the cruel and treasonable Coming with the King's Father, at Bannockburn, against himself, thinking there to cause his Father to devour the Son.* With other Points of Dittay, which I need not to rehearse.

FURTHER, the first Lord that ever was specified in the Summons, was Lord *David Lindesay* of *The Byres*, because he was most familiar with King *James III.* at that Time, and was frackest in his Opinion, and used himself most manfully in his Defence against his Enemies : Therefore the Conspirators had greatest Envy at him. And when the Time came, all the whole Lords of *Scotland* compeared, both on the one Side and the other, in Presence of the King and Council, in the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*.

THE King sitting in Judgment himself, the Summons was read, and Lord *David Lindesay* called first, as we have said ; and his Dittay is in this Manner, as after follows : That is to say, *Lord David Lindesay of The Byres, answer for the cruel Coming against the King at Bannockburn,*

nockburn, with his Father, giving him Counsel to have devoured the King's Grace here present; and, to that Effect, gave him a Sword, and a good Horse, to fortify him against his Son. Your Answer hereto.

THIS Lord David Lindesay, being a rash Man, of small Ingynne and rude Language, although he was stout and hardy in the Fields, and well exercised in Wars, yet he had no Practick in the Laws, and could not answer formally to their Dittay, and could get no Man of Law to speak for him, for Fear of the King and his Lords, because the King sat in Judgment himself; and specially, because he was accused of Treason before the King, at that Time. Yet Lord David Lindesay, hearing himself called so oft, and Dittay foresaid read, answered on this Manner, *Ye are all Lurdanes, my Lords; I say, ye are false Traitors to your Prince; and that I dare prove with my Body, on any of you which holds you best, from the King's Grace down: For the false Lurdanes and Traitors have caused the King, by your false Seditions and Conspiracy, to come against his Father in plain Battle, where that noble Prince was cruelly murdered among your Hands, by your Advice, though ye brought the King in Presence, for your Beboof, to make him the Buckler of your Enterprize: Therefore, false Lurdanes, if the King punish you not hastily, for that Murder, ye will murder himself, when ye see Time, as ye did his Father: Therefore, Sir, beware with them, and give them no Credence; for they that were false to your Father, can never be true to your self. Sir, I assure your Grace, if your Father were living, that I would take his Part, and stand no Awe of thir false Lurdanes. And likewise, if you had a Son that would be counselled to come in Battle against you, by evil Counsel of false Lurdanes, like thir, I would take your Part against them, and fight against them, in your just Quarrel, ever with three against six of them. And thir false Traitors, which cause you to believe Evil in my Hands, I shall be truer, at length, to your Grace, than they shall be.*

THE Chancellor, and the rest of the Lords that sat with the King in Judgment, at that Time, hearing the gross and rude Speech, and sharp Accusation of Lord David Lindesay, in Presence of the King and all the Lords, and whole Nobility of Scotland, the said Chancellor thought then he hit them over near; the which therefore the Chancellor, to excuse the Matter, answered and spake to the King on this Manner. *Sir, if it please your Grace, Lord David Lindesay is but a Man of the old World, and cannot answer formally to your Grace, nor yet, in your Presence, can speak reverently. Your Grace must be good unto him, and I trust he will come in your Grace's Will. And he spake to Lord David Lindesay, and said, My Lord, I counsel you to come in the King's Grace's Will, and he will be good unto you.*

THIR Words were spoken by the Chancellor, purposely to cause Lord David Lindesay come in the King's Will, that it might be a Preparative to all the Lave, that were under the Summons of Forfeiture, to follow, and come in the King's Will, and thought to have cutled them off that Way. But one Mr. Patrick Lindesay, Brother-german

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to the said Lord *David Lindesay* of *The Byres*, hearing his Brother was desired to come in the King's Will, was not content therewith; to that Effect he stramped sadly on his Brother's Foot, to gar him understand that he was not content with the Desire which the Chancellor proponed unto him. But the Stramp of Mr. *Patrick Lindesay* was so sad on his Brother's Foot, who had a sore Toe, that the Pain thereof was very dolorous: Therefore he looked to him, and said, *Thou art over peart, Lowen, to stramp on my Foot, were thou out of the King's Presence, I should take thee on the Mouth.* Mr. *Patrick*, hearing thir vain Words of his Brother, plat down on his Knees before the King and the Justice, and made his Petition unto them in this Manner: That is to say, Sir, *if it will please your Grace, and your honourable Council and Justice, I desire at your Grace and Justice, for his Sake that is Judge of all, That your Grace would give me Leave this Day to speak for my Brother; for I see that there is no Man of Law in Scotland, this Day, that dares speak for him, for Fear of your Grace: And though he and I have not been at one thir many Years, yet my Heart will not suffer me to see my native House, that I am come off, to perish, and the Memory thereof to be abolished.*

UPON this the King's Grace, and his Judges, granted to Mr. *Patrick* his Petition, and bade him speak for his Brother the best he could. Then Mr. *Patrick* rose off his Knees, and was very blyth, when he obtained Licence with the King's Favour and the Justice, and began to speak very reverently in this Manner, as after follows; saying to the whole Lords of Parliament, and to the rest of them that were Accusers of his Brother, at that Time, which was entred into the bofs Window, and there to thole an Affize, conform to their Dittay, saying, *My Lords, I beseech you all that are here present, for his Sake that must give Sentence and Judgment on you at the last Day, that ye would remember now, instantly is your Time, and we had the Time in Times bygone, as we may also after have. Sicklike, desiring you to know your Estate, that all is changeable under the Sun, but God's Justice and Judgment stand ever firm and stable: Therefore now do as ye would be done to you, in the Ministratation of Justice to your Neighbours and Brether, who are accused this Day now of their Lives and Heritage, whose Judgment stands in your Hands.*

BY this Mr. *Patrick* ended his Speech, the Chancellor bade him say something for the Defence of his Brother, and the rest of the said Lords and Barons. Mr. *Patrick* answers in this Manner, as after follows, saying, *If it please the King's Majesty, and your Honours that are here, I say again, the King's Grace ought not to sit in Judgment against his Barons, because he hath made his Oath of Fidelity, when he received the Crown of Scotland, That he should never give Judgment, nor come in Judgment against his Lords and Barons, in no Action where he is Party himself. In this Action, because he is both Judge and Party in the said Crime, and was present at the Committing of the same: Therefore he ought not, by the Law of God nor Man, to be Judge, nor sit in Judgment at this Time: Therefore we desire him, in the Name* of



*of God, to rise and depart out of Judgment, till the Matter be further disputed conform to Justice.*

UPON this the Chancellor and the Lords advised, and concluded upon this Petition, and fand it reasonable : Therefore they counsell'd the King to rise, and go ben to the inward Tolbooth, which was very unpleasant to him for the Time, being a Prince sitting upon the Seat Royal, to be raised with his Subjects : But the Lords, thinking Shame to break Justice, removed him in this Manner ; and then called upon the said Lord *David*, and Mr. *Patrick* his Procurator, to answer forward to the Summons. The said Mr. *Patrick*, with all Humiliation, spake reverently, saying to them, *My Lords, I beseech you, for his Sake that suffered Passion for you, and all other sinful Persons, and must be Judge to you and all others in the Day of Judgment, that ye will consider steadfastly in your Minds, That we have been in the Place that ye are in now, and others, or we, may be in your Place again, to have the King and Court at our Pleasure, as ye have now : Therefore look that your Proceedings be honest and godly, and just in all the leading of your Process.* The Chancellor says, *Ye shall have no Cause to plaint by me ; therefore answer shortly to your Summons, and make us no more Hinder, and ye shall have Justice.* Mr. *Patrick* answered and said, *I throw the Summons be desert and null of the self, because he was summoned to compear to this Court and Parliament, upon the Space of forty Days, without Continuation of Days. No Mention is made in your Letter, where, nor in what Place ; but, generally, before the King and Council at Edinburgh. And now, my Lords, I believe it be one and forty Days, therefore the Day is expired of itself, and we ought not to answer till we be new summoned, and lawfully called thereto.*

THE Lords looked the Summons, and the Indorfation thereupon ; and when they had tried the Matter, they found it so as Mr. *Patrick* alledged : Therefore, by the Practick and Order of Scotland, the Summons was casten, and the Parliament dissolved ; yet they caused the said Lords that were upon the Pannel, that were to thole Judgment, to find Caution, every Man for himself, under the Pains of Sums of Money, to enter at such a Day as was appointed to them ; yet thir whole Lords were very blyth, thinking that all Evil was good of Thirst, and were content that they had escaped so at that Time ; but in special Lord *David Lindesay*, who was so ravished at his Brother Mr. *Patrick Lindesay*, of his Labours, that he brast forth, saying in this Manner, *Verily, Brother, you have fine Pyet Words, I would not have throwed that you had such Words. By St. Mary you shall have the Mains of Kirforther for it.*

THE King, hearing thir Words, was displeased at the said Mr. *Patrick*, and said to him, *He should gar him sit where he should not see his Feet for a Year ;* and immediately gart have him to the *Rosay of Bute*, and put him in Prison, where he remained a Year ere he was loosed. This Parliament was holden at *Edinburgh*, the tenth Day of *May*, One thousand four hundred and eighty nine Years.

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IN the same Year certain *English* Ships came in our Frith, and spoiled the Merchants, and our Friends, that came in our Waters. Of this the King and Council thought great Evil, and desired affectuouſly to be revenged thereof, upon the ſaid *English*-Men; but they could get no Man nor Maſters of Ships, Mariners nor Shippers, that would take in Hand to paſs forth upon the ſaid Enemies; till, at laſt, they ſent for Sir *Andrew Wood*, Knight of *Largo*, and deſired him to paſs forth upon the ſaid *English*-Men; and, to that Effect, he ſhould be well furniſhed with Men and Artillery: And further, he ſhould have the King's Favour greatly, and be rewarded largely for his Travel and Labours. Of this Deſire the ſaid Sir *Andrew Wood* was well content, and paſt forth to the Frith well manned, with two Ships, to paſs upon the ſaid *English*-Men, whom he foregathered withal immediately before the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, where they fought long together with uncertain Victory: For Sir *Andrew Wood* being but two Ships, as foreſaid, called *The Yellow Carnal* and *The Flower*; the King of *England*'s Ships were five in Number, with great Artillery: Yet, notwithstanding, the *Scottiſh* Ships prevailed at length, and that by the Wiſdom and Manhood of their Captain, which took all the five *English* Ships, and brought them to *Leith* as Priſoners, and delivered their Captain to the King's Grace and Council. For the which victorious and manly Act, the Captain, Sir *Andrew Wood*, was well rewarded by the King's Grace and Council, and holden in great Eſtimation thereafter with the Nobility of *Scotland*.

BUT ſoon after the King of *England* heard tell of the Novels, and how his Ships were ſo foughten and taken by Sir *Andrew Wood*, as foreſaid, was greatly diſcontent therewith, and made Proclamations through all *England*, who would paſs to the Sea, and fight with Sir *Andrew Wood*; and if he happened to take him Priſoner, and bring him to him, he ſhould have, for his Reward, a thouſand Pound *Sterling* to ſpend by Year. There were many that reſuſed, becauſe they knew Sir *Andrew Wood* to be ſuch a Captain upon the Sea; and ſo chancy in Battle, that he oftentimes obtained the Victory: Therefore they had the leſs Will to aſſail him. Notwithstanding a Captain of War, a Gentleman named *Steven Bull*, took in Hand to the King of *England*, to paſs to the Sea, and to fight with Sir *Andrew Wood*, and bring him Priſoner to the King of *England*, either dead or quick. Upon this the King of *England* was right glad, and gart provide to the Captain, *Steven Bull*, three great Ships, well man-ſteid, well victualled and well artillieried.

SOON after this the ſaid Captain paſt to the Sea, and ſailed till he came to the *Scottiſh* Frith, *that is to ſay*, at the Back of *May*, and there lay and watched Sir *Andrew Wood*'s Home-Coming, who was then in *Flanders* for the Time, truſting then nothing but Peace. Yet, notwithstanding, this Captain *Steven Bull*, waiting his Time at the Back of the *May*, took many of our Boats, who were travelling in the Frith for Fiſhes, to win their Living; notwithstanding the ſaid *Steven Bull* ranſomed the Shippers, and held many of the Mariners Priſoners, to that Effect, that they ſhould give him Knowledge of Sir *Andrew Wood*, when he came in the Frith: While, at the laſt, upon a Summer-Morning, a little after the Day-

Day-Breaking, one of the *English* Shippers perceived two Ships coming under Sail, by *St. Ebbis Head*. Then this *English*-Man caused some of thir *Scottish* Prisoners to pass to the Top of the Ships, that they might see or spy if it was Sir *Andrew Wood*, or not. But the *Scottish*-Men had not Will to shew the Verity, but feigned, and said, *They knew them not*: But, at last, the Captain promised them their Ransom free, if they would tell him that it was he indeed, who certified him that it was he. Then the Captain was blyth, and caused pierce the Wine, and drank about to all his Shippers and Captains that were under him, praying them to take Courage, for their Enemies were at Hand; for the which Cause he caused order his Ships in the Fier of War, and set his Quarter-Masters and Captains, every Man in his own Room; syne caused his Gunners to charge their Artillery, and put all in Order, and left nothing undone pertaining unto a good Captain.

ON the other Side, Sir *Andrew Wood* came peartly forward, knowing no Impediment of Enemies to be in his Geat; till, at the last, he perceived thir three Ships under Sail, and coming fast to them in Fier of War. Then Sir *Andrew Wood*, seeing this, exhorted his Men to Battle, beseeeking them to take Courage against their Enemies of *England*, who had sworn and made their Vows, *That they should make us Prisoners to the King of England; but, will God, they shall fail of their Purpose*: Therefore set yourselves in Order, every Man in his own Room. Let the Gunners charge their Artillery; and the Cors-Bows make them ready, with the Lyme-Pots and Fire-Balls in our Tops, and two-handed Swords in your Fore-Rooms; and let every Man be stout and diligent for his own Part, and for the Honour of this Realm. And thereto he caused fill the Wine, and every Man drank to other.

BY this the Sun began to rise, and shined bright upon the Sails; so the *English*-Men appeared very awfully in the Sight of the *Scots*, by Reason their Ships were very great and strong, and well furnished with greater Artillery; yet, notwithstanding, the *Scots* asfared nothing, but cast them to windward of the *English*-Men; who, seeing that, shot a great Canon or two at the *Scots*, thinking they should have stricken Sails at their Boast: But the *Scottish*-Men, nothing asfared therewith, came swiftly a windward upon Captain *Steven Bull*, and clapt together from Hand, and fought there from the Sun-Rising while the Sun go to, in the long Summer-Day; while all the Men and Women, that dwelt near the Coast, came and beheld their Fighting. The Night sundred them, that they were fain to depart from other. While, on the Morn, that the Day began to break fair, and their Trumpets to blow on every Side, and made them quickly to Battle; who clapt together, and fought so cruelly, that neither the Shippers nor Mariners took heed of their Ships; but fighting still, while an ebb Tide and South-Wind bure them to *Inchcap*, foreanents the Mouth of *Tay*. The *Scottish*-Men, seeing this, took Courage and Hardiment, that they doubled their Strokes upon the *English*-Men; and there took *Steven Bull*, and his three Ships, and had them up to the Town of *Dundee*, and there remained till their hurt Men were cured, and the dead buried; and syne took their Captain,

and had him to the King's Grace, and delivered him there as Prisoner ; and his Grace again received him very gladly, and thanked Sir *Andrew Wood* greatly, and rewarded him richly for his Manhood and Labours. Syne thereafter took the *English* Captain, and all his Men, and gave them Gifts of Gold and Silver, together with their Ships, and sent them Home to the King of *England* as a Propyne ; doing him understand, That he had as manful Men, both by Sea and Land, in *Scotland*, as he had in *England* : Therefore desired him, *To send none of his Captains, in Time coming, to perturb his Men within his Waters ; and if he would, they should not be so well treated, nor escape so well in Time coming.* Notwithstanding the King of *England*, hearing of thir News, was not content therewith ; but yet he thanked the King of *Scotland* for the Delivery of his Men, and the Entertainment of them.

IN this mean Time there was good Peace and Rest through all *Scotland*, and great Love betwixt the King and his Subjects : For the King was so liberal, that he left nothing ungiven to his Lords and Barons, that pertained to him, where he might leisomely give : For he thinking in his own Mind, That the Vice of Covetousness rang into his Father, it should not reign into him ; nor yet no Cowards nor Pyke-Thanks should be authorized in his Company ; nor he used but with the Counsel of his Lords : Whereby he obtained the Love and Favour of all his Nobility within his Realm ; insomuch, that he rode out through the whole Realm, him alone, unknown, that he was a King, of any Man ; and would oftentimes lodge in poor Mens Houses, as he had been a travelling Man through the Country ; and, in the mean Time, would require, of them that he was lodged with, where was the King, or how used the King himself, or how he used his Lords and Barons, or what they spake of him through the Country : And they would answer to him as they thought good. So the King knew, this Way, what was spoken of him through the Country.

THIS Prince was wondrous hardy, and diligent in the Execution of Justice, and loved nothing so well as able Men and good Horse, and used great Justing, and treated his Barons wondrous well that were able : And therefore would, sundry Times, gar make Proclamations out through his Realm, to all and sundry his Lords, Earls, Barons, which were able for Justing and Turnament, to come to *Edinburgh* to him, and there to exercise themselves, for his Pleasure, as they were best accustomed. Some to run with Spear ; some to fight with Battle-Axe and Harnes ; some to fight with the two-handed Swords ; some to shoot the Hand-Bow, Cors-Bow or Culvering : And every Man, as he thought best, got his Weapon delivered to him by the King, in this Manner. He that fought best, got such a Weapon delivered to him, by the Heralds, as he had foughten with. He that ran with the Spear best, he got a Spear headed with Gold delivered unto him, with gilt Harnessing thereto, to keep in Memorial of his Practick and Ingyne. And also the Heralds blazoned him to be the best Juster and Runner at the Spear in the Realm, among his Brethren. And the Battle-Axe delivered to him who fought best therewith. And likewise the Sword, Hand-Bow and Cors-Bow delivered

livered by the Heraulds, the same Manner, to them that used them best.

By this Way and Mean the King brought his Realm to great Manhood and Honours, that the Fame of his Justing and Turnament sprang through all *Europe*, which caused many errant Knights come out of strange Countries, to *Scotland*, to seek Justing ; because they heard of the noble Fame, and knightly Games of the Prince of *Scotland*, and of his Lords and Barons, and Gentlemen. Many Strangers came, but few were refused, but they were foughten with, and warred in singular Battle with the *Scottish*-Men.

IN this mean Time there was a great Marvel seen in *Scotland*. A Bairn was born reckoned to be a Man-Child ; but, from the Waste up, was two fair Persons, with all Members and Portraitures pertaining to two Bodies, *to wit*, Two Heads, well-eyed, well-eared, and well-handed. The two Bodies, the One's Back was fast to the Other's ; but, from the Waste down, they were but one Personage, and could not know, by the Ingynne of Man, from which of the two Bodies the Legs and Privy-Members proceeded. Notwithstanding the King's Majesty caused take great Care and Diligence upon the Upbringing of thir two Bodies in one Personage, caused nourish them, and learn them to sing and play upon Instruments of Musick ; who, within short Time, became very ingenious and cunning in the Art of Musick ; whereby they could play and sing two Parts ; the one the Treble, and the other the Tenor ; which was very dulce and melodious to hear. The common People, who treated them also, wondred that they could speake diverse and sundry Languages ; *that is to say, Latin, French, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, English and Irish*. Thir two Bodies long continued, to the Age of twenty eight Years ; and the one departed long before the other, which was dolorous and heavy to the other ; for which many required of the other to be merry. He answered, *How can I be merry, that have my true Marrow as a dead Carrion about my Back, which was wont to sing and play with me. When I was sad, he would give me Comfort, and I would do the like to him : But now I have nothing but Dolour of the Bearing so heavy a Burden, dead, cold and unsavory, on my Back, which taketh all earthly Pleasure from me in this present Life : Therefore I pray to Almighty God, to deliver me out of this present Life, that we may be laid and dissolved in the Earth, wherfrom we came.*

SOON after this there came a *Dutch* Knight in *Scotland*, called Sir John Clokebeewis, and desired Fighting and Justing in *Scotland*, with the Lords and Barons : But none was so apt and ready to fight with him, as Sir Patrick Hamilton, Brother to the Earl of Arran, being then a young Man, strong of Body and able of all Things ; but yet, for Lack of Exercise, he was not so well practised as Need were ; though he lacked no Hardiment, Strength, nor Courage in his Proceedings : But, at last, when the *Dutch*-Man and he were assembled together, both on great Horse, within the Lifts, under the Castle-Wall of *Edinburgh* ; after the Sound of the Trumpet, they rushed rudely together, and brake their

their Spears on ilk Side on other ; and afterward got new Spears and rancountred freshly again : But Sir *Patrick's* Horse entered with him, and would noways encounter his Marrow, that it was Force to the said Sir *Patrick Hamilton* to light on Foot, and give this *Dutch-Man* Battle ; and therefore, when he was lighted, cried for a two-handed Sword, and bade the *Dutch-Man* light from his Horse, and end out the Matter, saying to him, *A Horse is but a weak Warrant when Men have most ado.* Then, when both the Knights were lighted on Foot, they joyned peartly together with awful Countenances, and every one strake maliciously at other, and fought long together with uncertain Victory ; while, at the last, Sir *Patrick Hamilton* rushed manfully upon the *Dutch-Man*, and strake him upon his Knees. In the mean Time, the *Dutch-Man* being at the Earth, the King cast his Hat out over the Castle-Wall, and caused the Judges and Men of Arms rid and funder them ; and the Heralds and Trumpets blew, and cried the Victory was Sir *Patrick Hamilton's*. This Sir *Patrick Hamilton* was Brother-german to the Earl of *Arran*, and Sister and Brother-Bairns to the King's Majesty, and was a right noble and valiant Man all his Days.

IN the mean Time, this noble King *James IV.* was well learned in Art of Medicine, and also a cunning Chirurgener, that none in his Realm, that used that Craft, but would take his Counsel in all their Proceedings.

IN this mean Time the *Drummonds* burnt the Kirk of *Moneward*, wherein were six Score of *Murrays*, with their Wives and Children ; but few escaped therefrom, but they were either burnt or slain by *David Drummond*, whom the King punished afterward, by heading of him, with his Complices, at *Sterling*.

AND also the King gart take a dumb Woman, and put her into *Inch-Keith*, and gave her two young Bairns in Company with her, and gart furnish them with all Necessaries, *that is to say*, Meat, Drink, Fire and Clothes, with all other Kind of Necessaries which are required to Man or Woman, desiring to understand the Language thir Bairns could speak, when they came to lawful Age. Some say they spake good *Ebrew* : But, as to myself, I know not, but by the Author's Report.

IN this mean Time, *Bernard Stuart*, Brother-german to the Earl of *Lennox*, and Monsieur *Daubiney* in *France*, having the *Scottish* Company under his Dominion, at the King of *France's* Command, past to *Naples*, and there was made Regent and Governor of the same ; who ruled it so with Wisdom and Gentleness, that he wan all the Hearts of the People thereof ; they obeyed him and loved him so well, that he was called, by the *French-Men*, *Pitbroy* of *Naples*. At this the King and Council of *France* were not content, thinking that he would usurp the Crown of *Naples* unto himself : And, for this Cause, directed a great Lord in *France*, to pass and be equal with the said Monsieur *Daubiney*, in all Authority and Power in Government of the said Realm of *Naples* : But from Time that Monsieur *Daubiney* knew the King of *France's* Suspicion

Suspicion in the said Matter, he would no longer bide in the Realm of *Naples*, but hastily departed and came through *England* into *Scotland*, where he was well received with the King and Council thereof; and the King treated him well and gently, and set him at the Table with himself, and made him Judge of all his Justings and Turnaments, and called him Father of War, because he was so practised in the same.

IN the Year One thousand five hundred and four Years, and in the Month of *August*, *James IV.* took his Wife *Margaret*, the first Daughter of *Henry VII.* King of *England*, and was married with her by the Advice of the Nobility of *England* and *Scotland*, and got great Sums of Money given to him in Tocher, with great Promises and Conditions of Peace and Rest betwixt the two Countries; and thereto the two Kings gave both their Bands and Oaths of Fidelity, that they should observe and keep the same induring the Time of their Lives, without Fraud or Guile of either of the said Parties. But ever alas, their Conditions were broken shortly thereafter, as ye shall hear: For the King of *England*, being allied with *Scotland* in this Manner, thinking that he had his Time to pass into *France* to seek his Pension: Therefore he assembled his whole Lords to a Council, to see what was their Mind therein. To the which many of them concluded, and gave him Counsel to pursue his own Right of the King of *France*, considering he was allied with the King of *Scotland*, and banded so in Peace with him, that he needed not to dread no back Fear in *Scotland*, as he was wont to do: Therefore they took less Care of *France*, thinking that the King should obtain his Petition without any Manner of Trouble or Impediment; yet the Council of *England* thought it good to the King to send Ambassadors to desire the King of *France*, pleasantly, and of an honest Manner, to deliver and render to him his Pension foresaid; with Certification, that if he would not, he would come in proper Person himself, and seek the same, which might be little to his Contentment.

THEIR Ambassadors passed away to *France*, at the King of *England* and Council's Command, and shew the King of *France* their Commission and Desire; who was not content therewith, believing that the King of *England* durst not attempt any War against him, and was commoved at the Ambassadors, and gave them a differing Answer, which was little to Effect.

IN this mean Time there was a Bishop in *Scotland*, called *Andrew Forman*, who was Bishop of *Murray*; and, at that Time, was passing to *Rome* for his Business, who rode his Way through *England*, where he was well treated and received by King *Henry VIII.* and that for the King of *Scotland's* Sake. Syne passed forward to *Rome*, where he was received there by the Pope, and treated there as a Stranger.

IN this same Time, King *Lewis* of *France*, and Pope *Julius II.* fell at Discord; and the Pope raised a great Army of a hundred thousand fighting Men, to come against the King of *France*, and to give him plain Battle, if he would not yield to his Desires. The King of *France*,  
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seeing the Pope's Rigourousness against him, gathered to the Number of fourscore thousand Men, and came to the Field manfully, with a triumphant Army against him. Thir two Armies marched together within the Space of a *Scottish* Mile, every one of them to come together at the Sound of Trumpet. But this noble Bishop *Forman*, being in Company with the Pope for the Time, desired at his Holiness, that he might speak with the King of *France*, to draw some good Ways, and bring Concord, for the Well of both the said Parties. Which Petition was granted to him by the Pope, who was right glad of his Desire. Then this noble Bishop went in Message to the King of *France*, where he was lying with his Army in proper Person, who received this holy Bishop with Reverence, and intreated him very thankfully for the King of *Scotland's* Sake, and was very blyth of his Coming, trusting that, for the King of *Scotland's* Sake, he would not suffer the Pope to give him Battle, if he might stop it; and, to that Effect, he gave him fair Words, and granted many of his Desires. This Bishop came hastily to the Pope again, with good Narration of the King of *France*, shewing the Pope, that the King of *France* was ready to defend the Liberty of the Kirk, specially his Holiness, and to serve him, or pass with him where he would bid him. Thir good News, and other more, mitigate the Pope's Heart, that he was content with all that Bishop *Andrew Forman* had said: *That is to say*, To skale his Army, and to speak with the King of *France*, and commune kindly with him, as he pleased. With this Answer Bishop *Andrew Forman* past hastily to the King of *France*, and shew him the Pope's good Will and Mind toward him; who was well content therewith, and promised to the Bishop to skale his Army in like Manner as the Pope did his, and to meet at the Place appointed, and to speak with him as the Bishop had devised. And, on the Morrow, both the said Armies skaled; and the Pope and the King of *France* met and embraced other, and agreed upon all Matters debateable betwixt them, by the Labours and Counsel of this holy Bishop, who was very richly rewarded therefore, and obtained great Favours of great Men, and of both the Parties: *That is to say*, The Pope lighted down of his Mule, and delivered her to Bishop *Forman*, with great Gifts of Gold, and had him to *Rome* with him, and made him Legate of *Scotland*; who made the Pope a great Banquet in one of his own Palaces, the Time of his Legacy, and he treated the Pope and all his Cardinals thereunto. When the Dinner came, the Pope and his Cardinals placed and sat down according to their Estate. Then the Use was and Custom, That, at the Beginning of Meat, he that ought the House, and made the Banquet, should say the Grace, and bless the Meat: And so they required the holy Bishop to say the Grace; who was not a good Scholar, and had not good *Latin*, but began rudely in the *Scottish* Fashion, in this Manner, saying, *Benedicite*; believing that they should have answered, *Dominus*: But they answered, *Dans*, in the *Italian* Fashion; which put this noble Bishop by his Intendiment, that he wist not how to proceed forward; but happened out in good *Scottish*, in this Manner, the which they understood not, saying, *The Devil I give you to all false Carills, in nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen*, quoth they. Then the Bishop and his Men leugh. And the Bishop shew the Pope the Manner, that he was not a good Clerk, and his



his Cardinals had put him by his Intendiment ; and therefore he gave them all to the Devil in good *Scottish* ; and then the Pope leugh among the rest.

WHEN the Bishop was made Legate of *Scotland*, and had done all his Business, as we have shown, he took his Leave at the Pope and his Cardinals, and past through *Italy* to *France*, where he was wondrous welcome both to King and Queen, and Council, and was richly rewarded for his Labours of Peace making betwixt him and the Pope ; and gave him, for his Reward, the Bishoprick of *Burge* in *Berry*, which was to him yearly, in Profit, four hundred Tun of Wine, ten thousand *Franks* of Gold, with other small Commodities that cannot be rehearsed.

THE King of *France* also shew to this Bishop, how the King of *England* sent his Ambassadors, desiring his Pension to be paid, or else he would come to invade his Realm, and give him Battle : Wherefore he desired the Bishop affectuously to speak to the King of *Scotland* to support him, conform to the Tenor of his old Band ; and also praying the Bishop to be his good Friend, in counselling the King of his Affairs : *That is to say*, When the King of *England* came in *France*, that the King of *Scotland* would raise his Army, and come in *England* : And, to this Effect, the King of *France* sent Ambassadors into *Scotland* with the Bishop to desire the same, as is aforesaid : But the King gave him a deferring Answer, because of the Love and Tenderness that was betwixt him and the King of *England* his Brother-in-law. Thir Ambassadors past again in *France*, nothing content with their Answer. This drew over for a Space.

*Margaret*,<sup>1</sup> our Queen of *Scotland*, brought Home a young Son, in the Month of *May*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and eleven Years.

IN this same Year, the King of *Scotland* bigged a great Ship, called *The Great Michael*, which was the greatest Ship, and of most Strength, that ever sailed in *England* or *France* : For this Ship was of so great Stature, and took so much Timber, that, except *Falkland*, she wasted all the Woods in *Fife*, which was Oak-Wood, by all Timber that was gotten out of *Norrozday* : For she was so strong, and of so great Length and Breadth (all the Wrights of *Scotland*, yea, and many other Strangers, were at her Device, by the King's Commandment ; who wrought very busily in her ; but it was Year and Day ere she was complete) *to wit*, She was twelvescore Foot of Length, and thirty six Foot within the Sides. She was ten Foot thick in the Wall, outted Jests of Oak in her Wall, and Boards on every Side, so stark and so thick, that no Canon could go through her. This great Ship cumbred *Scotland* to get her to the Sea. From that Time that she was afloat, and her Masts and Sails complete, with Tows and Anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the King to be thirty thousand Pounds of Expences, by her Artillery, which was very great and costly to the King, by all the rest of her Orders : *To wit*, She bare many Canons, six on every Side, with three great

great Baffils, two behind in her Dock, and one before, with three hundred Shot of small Artillery, *that is to say*, Myand, and Battert-Falcon, and Quarter-Falcon, Slings, pestilent Serpetens, and Double-Dogs, with Hagtor and Culvering, Cors-Bows and Hand-Bows. She had three hundred Mariners to sail her; she had fixscore of Gunners to use her Artillery; and had a thousand Men of War, by her Captains, Shippers and Quarter-Masters.

WHEN this Ship past to the Sea, and was lying in the Road, the King gart shoot a Canon at her, to essay her if she was wight; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little Skaith. And if any Man believe that this Description of the Ship be not of Verity, as we have written, let him pass to the Gate of *Tillibardin*, and there, afore the same, ye will see the Length and Breadth of her, planted with Hawthorn, by the Wright that helped to make her. As for other Properties of her, Sir *Andrew Wood* is my Author, who was Quarter-Master of her; and *Robert Bartyne*; who was Master-Shipper.

THIS Ship lay still in the Road, and the King, every Day, taking Pleasure to pass to her, and to dine and sup in her with his Lords, letting them see the Order of his Ship; while, at the last, the King of *Scotland* was surely advertised, That the King of *England* was making ready, with all the Haste he could, with a great Army and Navy of Ships, to pass to *France* to seek his Pension, whereof the King of *Scotland* was not content, trusting surely, that if the King of *England* landed in *France* to give Battle, that he would be charged for Support, conform to his old Band, which he was loath to break. And, on the other Side, he was far loather to break his Vow made betwixt him and the King of *England* his Good-Brother. Yet, notwithstanding, by the crafty Counsel of the Bishops, which desired never to be at Rest with *England*, but favoured *France*; so that they counselled the King to pick a Quarrel at the King of *England*, which they believed should cause him start at the King of *Scotland*, whereby the King of *Scotland* might have Occasion to support *France* at his Pleasure. And in this Manner they wrought, and caused the King to send Bishop *Andrew Forman* to the King of *England*, in Ambassadry, desiring of him certain Silver-Work, and Golden-Work, with Rings, Chains and precious Stones, and other Abuilziement of Gold pertaining to the Prince, his eldest Brother, which was left to his Wife *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland* in Legacy, by her eldest Brother.

To thir Desires and Petition of the Ambassador foresaid, the King of *England*'s Answer was in this Manner, as after follows.

*My Lord Ambassador desires my Brother, the King of Scotland, to have of me Silver-Work, Golden-Work, Rings, Chains, precious Stones, or any other Abuilziement pertaining to a Prince, which was left in Legacy by my eldest Brother, to my eldest Sister Margaret Queen of Scotland. I grant thereto, she shall be well answered thereof; not allearly of the same, but the double thereof, and make your Memorial of*  
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*all your Desires, Number and Valour thereof, and ye shall not have alone the single, but the double thereof. As I am a true Prince, ye shall be answered in all Things whatsoever ye will give me in Memorial; on this Condition, that my Brother, the King of Scotland, will keep his Oath and Band with me, that he hath made lately with Consent of his Parliament; and I likewise to him shall keep my Oath of Fidelity, which I made with Consent of my Lords, by touching the holy Evangel, and our great Seals and Hand-Writ interchanged thereupon, That never one of us should fail to another, for no other Man's Pleasure, but shall live in Peace and Rest, with Charity and Concord, as Christian Men and good Neighbours ought to do: Therefore I desire my Brother the King of Scotland, for the Love of Almighty God, and Jesus Christ his Son, which is the Author and Ground of all Peace and Rest, that he would sit in his Chair, and let me and the French King part among us, that I may seek my own Right and just Pension, which is holden from me wrongously, by the Pride and Avarice of France: Therefore I desire him to sit still, and be Judge to us both; and if he does me no Good, do me no Evil. And also shew him, that it shall be neither Silver nor Gold, Land-Rent nor Riches that shall stand betwixt me and him, in Difference; and that, if he believe not this, send me an Answer hastily, before I depart out of England to France, and I shall deliver his Desires unto them, together with any other Lands or Rents that he desires. And if he will promise faithfully to keep this Band foresaid to me, I shall incontinent, with all the Consent of my Nobles, make him Duke of York, and Governor of England to my Home-Coming; for the Heirs of England must either come of me or him, and I have none, as yet, lawfully of my Body; but I hear say, That Margaret, my eldest Sister, hath a pretty Boy, apparently to be a Man of Estimation. I pray God to bless him, and keep him from his Enemies, and give me Grace, that I may see him in Honour and Estimation, when he cometh to Age, that I may entertain him according to my Honour, and Duty.*

THIS Answer ended by the King of *England*, and delivered to the Ambassador, the Bishop foresaid, who, when he was dispatching his Way, got his Reward very greatly of Gold and Silver, and fair Hackneys to ride upon: And also he got the Priory of *Condembeck*, which was in Rent, by Year, four thousand Angel-Nobles, by the Convent thereof. This Bishop took Leave, and passed in *Scotland* hastily, and shew the King of *England*'s Answer.

OF this Answer the King was well contented and satisfied, thinking, on no Ways, he could refuse so fair Offers as his Brother the King of *England* had promised him; and consulted with himself, and his Council consulted, That he would; on no Ways, invade *England* at that Time, for no Favour that he had to *France*: And, to that Effect, he sent away this Bishop into *France*, promising them any Support or Help that he could make them, but he would not pass in *England*, at that Time, to invade his Brother, because he was sworn thereto in the contrary: But he promised that he would send them an Army by Sea to

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support them as they pleased ; and incontinent the King gave victual and furnish his great Ship with all kind of Orders, and cheised four hardy Men to be Quarter-Masters of her, and made the Lord *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, Captain and Great-Admiral, and made the Lord *Fleming* Vice-Admiral, to sail in the *Margaret*, and the Lord *Rofs* of *Hacket* in the *James*, which were the King's great Ships at that Time ; who were well furnished with Earls, Lords and Barons, to the Number of ten thousand, who were well arrayed for Battle.

AND the Earl of *Arran*, having Charge to pass with them wherever he pleased, and in special to *France*, where the Army was lying for the Time, debating against the *English*-Men, thinking that their Support should cause the *English*-Men and their King to return : But all was for nought. For the Earl of *Arran*, Admiral of the said Navy of *Scotland*, kept no Direction of the King his Master, but past to the *West* Sea, upon the Coast of *Ireland*, and there landed and burnt *Cragfergus*, with other Villages, and then came forenent the Town of *Air*, and there landed and reposed, and played them the Space of forty Days.

IN this mean Time, Bishop *Forman* being in *France*, with the King and Court thereof, who had promised Support to the King of *France*, by his Master's Direction, and looked daily for the same ; and because he could see nothing to succeed of his Promise, he wrote home a sharp Bill to the King, making Mention to him, *That his Honour was int for ever, if he sent not hastily Support to the King of France, conform to his Promise, which he had made in his Name.* Also the Queen of *France* wrote a *Love-Letter* to the King of *Scotland*, calling him, *Her Love* ; shewing him, *That she had suffered much Rebuke for his Sake, in France, for the defending of his Honour.* She believed surely, that he would recompence her again, with some of his kingly Support, in her Necessity, *that is to say*, That he would raise her an Army, and come three Foot of Ground on *English* Ground, for her Sake : To that Effect she sent him a Ring off her Finger, with fourteen thousand *French* Crowns to make his Expences.

By thir Letters came to the King's Majesty, he knew well that his Navy had not past the right Way ; and shortly hereafter got Wit, that they were landed at the Town of *Air* ; which displeased the King very greatly : For he believed surely, that they had been in *France* at the farthest Tryst. But because that they had not kept his Direction, he sent Sir *Andrew Wood*, with other Gentlemen, with Herauld of Arms, and discharged the Earl of *Arran* of his Admirallship ; and vowed to God that he should never bruik Heritage in *Scotland* after that Day. But this Lord hearing the terrible Message of the King, and thought he would not obey, and give over the Admirallship, as the King had commanded, but passed to the Sea, and pulled up Sails, and passed where he pleased, thinking that he would come to *France* in due Time.

THE King hearing of his unprosperous Journey, seeing that *France* would get no Support of him for that Time, made a Proclamation full  
 . hastily,

hastily, through all the Realm of *Scotland*, both *East* and *West*, *South* and *North*, as well in the Isles as in the firm Land, That all Manner of Man betwixt sixty and fifteen Years, that they should be ready, within twenty Days, to pass with him, with forty Days Victual, and to meet at the *Burrow-Muir* of *Edinburgh*, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His Proclamations were hastily obeyed, contrary the Council of *Scotland's* Will: But every Man loved his Prince so well, that they would, on no Ways, disobey him; but every Man caused make his Proclamation so hastily, conform to the Charge of the King's Proclamation.

THE King came to *Lithgow*, where he happened to be for the Time at the Council, very sad and dolorous, making his Devotion to God to send him good Chance and Fortune in his Voyage. In this mean Time, there came a Man clad in a blue Gown in at the Kirk-Door, and belted about him in a Roll of Linen-Cloth; a Pair of Brotikins on his Feet, to the Great of his Legs, with all other Hose and Clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his Head, but syde red yellow Hair behind, and on his Haffits, which wan down to his Shoulders; but his Forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a Man of two and fifty Years, with a great Pyke-Staff in his Hand, and came first forward among the Lords, crying and speiring for the King, saying, *He desired to speak with him.* While, at the last, he came where the King was sitting in the Desk at his Prayers: But when he saw the King, he made him little Reverence or Salutation, but leaned down groflins on the Desk before him, and said to him in this Manner, as after follows. *Sir King, my Mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this Time, where thou art purposed; for, if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy Journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell with no Woman, nor use their Counsel, nor let them touch thy Body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to Shame.*

By this Man had spoken thir Words unto the King's Grace, the Even-Song was near done; and the King paused on thir Words, studying to give him an Answer: But, in the mean Time, before the King's Eyes, and in Presence of all the Lords that were about him for the Time, this Man vanished away, and could noways be seen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a Blink of the Sun, or a Whip of the Whirlwind, and could no more be seen. I heard say, *Sir David Lindsay* Lyon Herald, and *Jahn Inglis* the Marshal, who were, at that Time, young Men, and special Servants to the King's Grace, were standing presently beside the King, who thought to have laid Hands on this Man, that they might have speired further Tidings at him: But all for nought; they could not touch him; for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more seen.

YET all thir Warnings and uncouth Tidings, nor no good Counsel, might stop the King, at this Present, from his vain Purpose and wicked Enterprize, but hastened him fast to *Edinburgh*, and there to make his Provision and Furnishing in having forth of his Army against the Day appointed, that they should meet in the *Burrow-Muir* of *Edinburgh*:  
That

*That is to say*, Seven Canons that he had forth of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which were called *The Seven Sisters*, casten by *Robert Borthwick* the Master-Gunner, with other small Artillery, Bullet, Powder, and all Manner of Order, as the Master-Gunner could devise.

IN this mean Time, when they were taking forth their Artillery, and the King being in the Abbey for the Time, there was a Cry heard at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*, at the Hour of Midnight, proclaiming as it had been a Summons, which was named and called by the Proclaimer thereof, *The Summons of Plotcock*; which desired all Men, *To compear, both Earl and Lord, and Baron and Gentleman, and all honest Gentlemen within the Town* (every Man specified by his own Name) *to compear, within the Space of forty Days, before his Master, where it should happen him to appoint, and be for the Time, under the Pain of Disobedience.* But whether this Summons was proclaimed by vain Persons, Night-Walkers, or drunk Men, for their Pastime, or if it was but a Spirit, I cannot tell truly: But it was shewn to me, That an In-dweller of the Town, Mr. *Richard Lawson*, being evil-disposed, gang-ing in his Gallery-Stair foreanent the Cross, hearing this Voice proclaiming this Summons, thought Marvel what it should be, cried on his Servant to bring him his Purse; and when he had brought him it, he took out a Crown, and cast over the Stair, saying, *I appeal from that Summons, Judgment and Sentence thereof, and takes me all whole in the Mercy of God, and Christ Jesus his Son.* Verily the Author of this, that caused me write the Manner of the Summons, was a landed Gentleman, who was, at that Time, twenty Years of Age, and was in the Town the Time of the said Summons; and thereafter, when the Field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no Man that escaped that was called in this Summons, but that one Man alone, which made his Protestation, and appealed from the said Summons; but all the Lave were perished in the Field with the King.

THEIR Novels passed through the Town to every Man; and at last they came to the King's Ears, who gave them but little Credence, and refused utterly all wise and godly Counsel, which was to his Honour, and the Commonweal of the Country; and would use no Counsel of his prudent Wife *Margaret Queen of Scotland*, for no Prayer nor Supplication that she could make: Shewing to him, That she had but one Son to him, which was but a weak Warrant to the Realm of *Scotland*, and oversoon to him to pass to Battle, leaving such small Succession behind him: Therefore she thought it best, that he should tarry till God send them more Fruit of his Body; for she assured him, if he passed in *England*, at that Time, he would get Battle. Yet this wise Counsel and Admonition was of no ways accepted, nor taken in good Part by him; because she was the King of *England's* Sister, and therefore was the less regarded. Yet this Noblewoman did her Duty and Labour, so far as she might, for the Well of her Husband, and the Commonweal of the Country, and also for the Love she bore to her Brother, the King of *England*, desiring no Discord to be betwixt the two Realms in her Time.

Ms. v. 2.

BUT, nevertheless, nothing would be heard, but forward the King went unto the Place, where the Mufters were received, *that is to say*, In the *Burrow-Muir* beside *Edinburgh*; where there assembled the King, and all his Lords, Barons, Burgesſes and Freeholders, and all Manner of Man betwixt fixty and fixteen, as well Spiritual as Temporal, both Burgh and Land, as well the out Isles as the firm Land, which haſtily came, and were to the Number of a hundred thouſand fighting Men, together with the Carriage-Men and Artillery, which was to the Number of thirty Shot of great Artillery, and thirty Field-Pieces, with all their Ordinance of Powder and Bullet; and paſſed ſyne forward to *Eſk*, and camped there; and, on the Morrow, went to *Wark* and *Norham*, and caſt them down: And thereafter went to *Foord*, and caſt it down. Great Slaughter was made of the King's Men that ſtood about the Houſe, in the Flyings of the Timber. Some ſay the Lady of *Foord* was a beautiful Woman, and that the King medled with her; and alſo his Son *Alexander Stuart*, Biſhop of *St. Andrews*, with her Daughter; which was againſt God's Commandments, and againſt the Order of all good Captains of War, to begin at Whoredom and Harlotry before any good Succes of Battle or Victory had fallen unto them; and Fornication had a great Part of the Wyte of their evil Succes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the King continued ſtill there the Space of twenty Days without Battle; till, at the laſt, all the Viſuals and Viviers of the Commons were ſpent; and many of the far *North-Land* and *Isles* Men were ſpent and waſted in the Famine, in this ſame Manner, that it was Force to them to paſs Home; and every Lord and Gentleman ſent one or two Home of their ſpecial Friends, to bring them Viſuals in this Ways; then baid not with the King above ten thouſand Men, by Borderers and Country-Men; yet the King's Grace took no Fear, becauſe he believed no Battle of the *Engliſh*-Men at that Time.

BUT this wicked Lady of *Foord*, ſeeing the King's Hoſt ſo diſperſed for Lack of Viſuals, and knowing all the Secrets that were among the King's Men and Army, both of the King himſelf and his ſecret Council; and this Experience ſhe had by her frequent Whoredom with the King, and alſo her Daughter with his Son, which moved her to aſk Licence at the King to paſs inward in the Country, to ſpeak with certain of her Friends, declaring to the King, That ſhe ſhould bring him all Novels out of the *South* Country, what they were doing, or what was their Purpose for to do, deſiring his Grace to remain to her Coming. And he again, as an effeminate Prince, ſubdued and enticed by the Allurement and falſe Deceit of this wicked Woman, gave her over haſtily Credence in this Behalf, and believed ſurely all had been true that ſhe promiſed: To that Effect gart convoy her a certain Way from the Hoſt, as ſhe deſired: But this Lady, thinking nothing that ſhe had promiſed to the King, that, on no Ways, ſhe would keep it, for the Love ſhe bore her native Country; but haſtily paſt, with a deceitful Mind, to the Earl of *Surrey*, where he was lying at *York* at that Time; and ſhew to him the whole Secrets of the King of *Scotland* and his Army; what Point he was at, and how his Men were departed from him, for Lack of Viſuals; and

F f

that

that there were not bidden with him but ten thousand Men of all his Army: Therefore she thought it expedient, That the Earl of *Surrey* should come forward, with all that he might be at that Time. She promised to them that they should have Victory; for she, by her Craft and Ingyne, should deceive the King, so far as she could, to put him in the *English*-Mens Hands.

THEIR Novels being come to the Earl of *Surrey*, by this wicked Woman, he was very glad thereof, and thanked her greatly of her Labours and Travels she took for her native Country; promising to her, That, within three Days, he should meet the King of *Scotland*, and give him Battle.

IN this mean Time, there were Letters come to the Earl of *Surrey*, That his Son, the Lord *Howard*, was landed at *Dover*, six thousand Men of War with him, of the best of all King *Harry*'s Armies, sent to him by the said *Harry*, who was lying in *France* at this Time, seeking his Pension; and got Word, that the King of *Scotland* was come in *England*, invading his Realm, for Love of *France*; which was contrarious to the Law of God, the Welfare of both the said Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, considering the Promise, Bands, Alliance made betwixt both the said Realms, as we have shewn before to you. Notwithstanding, the King of *England* lamented heavily the Unkindness of his Good-Brother the King of *Scots*: And therefore he wrote Home a Commission to the Earl of *Surrey*, that he should be Lieutenant for the Time, and raise the whole Body of *England*, both Gentlemen and Commons, and cause them pass forward against the King of *Scotland*, to defend their Realm; giving him an exprels Command, that he should not invade the King of *Scotland*, by any Manner of Way, but in his own Defence; nor should not pursue the King of *Scotland*, nor none of his, in *Scottish* Ground; but defend themselves within the Realm of *England*.

THE Earl of *Surrey*, hearing the Letters of Commission presented by his Son, was very rejoiced; and also of the Home-Coming of his Son Lord *Howard*; and took such Courage, that he assembled all his Army of *England*, and made their Musters incontinent, to the Number of fifty thousand Gentlemen and Commons. The Captains hereof were, the Earl of *Surrey*, principal Lieutenant to the King's Grace; and under him his Son Lord *Howard*, principal Governor of the Host; and the Lord *Dacres* Marshal, the Lord of *Westmuirland*, and the *Peircies* of *Northumberland*, were Chiftains of the Vanguard. And thus, in all possible Haste, marched forward toward the *Scots*, where they lay for the Time, to wit, At *Floudoun-Hills*, taking no Care of no Enemies to invade them at that Time, and specially of *English*-Men: For the King, nor none of his Council, knew of the Earl of *Surrey*'s Coming, nor yet believed to have had Battle of him, nor of none other of *England* at that Time, considering the King was not present in the Realm.

THUS the King of *Scotland*, so insolent, having no Foresight nor Moyer in the Country, lay still, taking no Thought, as a Man uncounsellable,



sellable, which would do nothing for his Lords and his Captains, for the Safeguard of his Host, and Commonweal of his Nobles; nor yet for obtaining of Victory, and defending of his own Honour; but lying still abiding the Lady of *Foord's* Coming: But all for nought; for she did nothing but deceived him, and came not again till the *English* Army came with her. So the King of *Scotland* never knew the Coming of the Army of *England*, while they were within the Space of three Miles, arrayed in seven great Battles.

WHEN thir Novels were shown to the King of *Scotland*, he would scanty credit them; but lap on Horse, and rode to the Hills to vifie them: But when he saw them coming so fast forward, he caused to sound his Trumpets, and put his Men in Array, and ordained to charge his Artillery, and make all ready.

IN this mean Time, the Lords passed to the Council, thinking they would not suffer the King to give Battle, at that Time, to a Man of low Degree. But when the Lords passed to the Council, as said is, the King disguised himself, and came privily and heard every Lord's Vote, and what was their Conclusion toward his Proceedings: *To wit*, The Lords devised and charged *Patrick Lord Lindesay* to be Chancellor, and first Voter in the Council, because he was best learned, and of greatest Age, and had greatest Experience amongst them all at that Time. They required of him, if he thought good that the King should give Battle to *England*, at that Time, or not. The Lord *Lindesay*, being ripely advised in this Matter, seeing the Proceedings, Conversation and Behaviour of the King, answered to the Lords in this Manner, as after follows, saying, *My Lords, ye desire my Opinion and Judgment, if the King should give Battle to England, or not. My Lords, I will give you forth a Similitude, desiring you to know my Mind by the same hereafter. I compare your Lordships to an honest Merchant, who would, in his Voyage, go to the Dice with a common Hazarder, and there to jeopardy a Rose-Noble, on a Cast, against a glead Halfpenny; which, if this Merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or else nought; but, if he tynes, he tynes his Honour, with that Piece of Gold, which is of more Valour. So, my Lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the Merchant, and your King a Rose-Noble, and England the common Hazarder, who have nothing to jeopardy but a glead Halfpenny, in Comparison of your noble King, and an old crooked Caril lying in a Chariot; and though they tyne him, they tyne but little; but if we jeopardy our noble King at this Time, with a simple Wight, and happen to tyne him, we will be called evil Merchants, and far worse Counsellors to his Majesty: For if we tyne him, we tyne the whole Realm of Scotland, and the whole Nobility thereof; for none, my Lords, at this Time, have bidden but Gentlemen; the Commons are all departed from us for Lack of Victual; so that it is not decent nor seemly to us, that we should jeopardy our noble King and his Nobility, with an old crooked Caril, and certain Sutors and Taylors with him in Company: But better it were, to cause the King remove, and certain of his Lords with him; and, whom he thinks most expedient, to take the Matter in Hand, and jeopardy themselves* for

*for the King's Pleasure, and their own Honour, and the Commonweal of the Country at this Time: And if your Lordships will conclude in this Manner, I think it best for my own Part.*

By this the Lord *Lindesay* had voted in this Manner, the whole Lords were content of his Conclusion, and nominate certain Lords to take the Battles in Hand, *that is to say*, The Earl of *Huntley* in the North, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Marshall*; and, in the West Part of Scotland, the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lord *Graham*, the Lord *Maxwel*; and, in the South, the Earl of *Angus*, the Earl of *Bodwell*, the Lord *Hume*, to be Rulers of the King's Host, and fight in Battle against *England*; and the King to pass, with a certain Company of his Nobility, a little from the Army, where he might see the valiant Acts of both the Sides, and be in Safeguard himself.

THIS being devised and spoken, and finally concluded with all the whole Lords; the King, nearhand by, disguised, as I shew to you before, desiring to hear their Counsel and Conclusion, and to be unknown of them, burst forth, and answered unhappily in this Manner, as after follows, saying to them, in a furious Rage, *My Lords, I shall fight this Day against England, though ye had sworn the contrary; though ye would all flee from me, and shame yourselves, ye shall not shame me, as ye devise: And to Lord Patrick Lindesay, that has gotten the first Vote, I vow to God, I shall never see Scotland sooner, than I shall cause hang him on his own Gate.*

THUS the Lords were astonished at the King's Answer, seeing him into a Fury, and were fain to satisfy his Pleasure, and serve his Appetite in all Things, as he commanded.

By this the Watches came, and shew the King the *English* Army was at Hand, marching fast forward within the Space of a *Scottish* Mile. Then the King caused blow the Trumpets, and set his Men in Order of Battle: *To wit*, He gave the Vanguard to the Earl of *Huntley* and to the Lord *Hume*, who were in Number ten thousand Men; and took the great Battle unto himself, with all the Nobility of *Scotland*, which passed not above twenty thousand Men, and marched forward a little in the Sight of the *English* Men, which were then passing over the Bridge to them. The Master-Gunner came in Presence of the King, and fell on his Knees, desiring at the King's Grace, that he might shoot his Artillery at the *English* Host, where they were coming over the Bridge of *Till*; for he promised and took in Hand, he should cut the Bridge at their Over-Coming, that the King should have no Displeasure at the one Half, while the other should be devoured; for he stiled his Artillery for the Bridge, and they came thereon. The King answered to *Robert Borthwick* his Gunner, like a Man that had been rest of his Wit, saying to him, *I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and draw thee, if thou shoot one Shot this Day. I am determined, that I will have them all before me on a plain Field, and see them what they can do all before me.*

THE

THE *English* Men were come all over the Bridge, and the Vanguards were marching near together ; *to wit*, The *Scottish* Vanguard, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord *Hume*, with the Borderers, and Country Men thereof, in like Manner, who joyned cruelly on every Side, and fought cruelly with uncertain Victory : But, at last, the Earl of *Huntley's Highland-Men*, with their Bows and two-handed Swords, wrought so manfully, that they defeat the *English-Men*, without any Slaughter on their Side. Then the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Hume* blew their Trumpets, and convened their Men again into their Standards.

By this the two great Battles of *England* came forward upon the King's Battle, and joyned awfully at the Sound of the Trumpet, and fought furiously a long While ; but, at last, the King of *Scotland* defeat them both. Then the great Battle of *England*, led by the Lord *Howard*, who was, under his Father the Earl of *Surrey*, Governor of that Battle, who came furiously upon the King, to the Number of twenty thousand fresh Men : But the King's Battle encountred them hardily, and fought manfully on both the Sides, with uncertain Victory, till that the Streams of Blood ran, on either Side, so abundantly, that all the Fields and Waters were made red with the Confluence thereof. The Earl of *Huntley* and the Lord *Hume* then standing in arrayed Battle, who had win the Vanguard before, and few of their Men either hurt or slain ; the Earl of *Huntley* desired at the Lord *Hume*, that he would help the King and rescue him in his Extremity ; for he said, *That he was overset with the Multitude of Men*. Notwithstanding the Lord *Hume* answered the Earl of *Huntley* in this Manner, saying, *He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our Vanguards, and have won the same : Therefore let the Lave do their Part, as well as we*. The Earl of *Huntley* answered again, and said, *He could not suffer his native Prince to be overcome with his Enemies before his Eyes* : Therefore called his Men together by Sluggorn, and found of Trumpets, to have past to the King : But, ere he came, all was defeat on either Side, that few or none was living, neither on the King's Part, nor on the other.

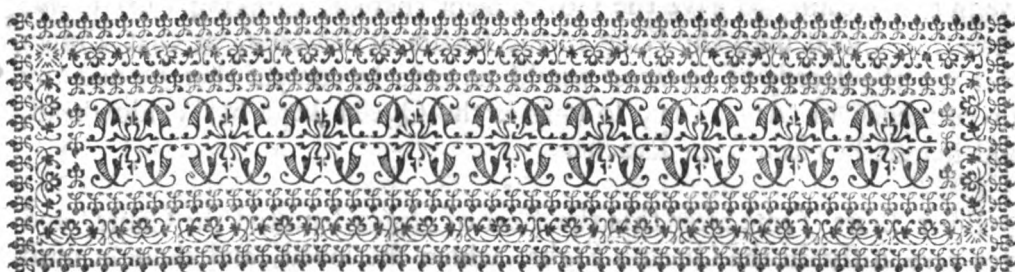
SOME say, there came four Men upon four Horses riding to the Field, with four Spears, and a Wisp on every Spear-Head, to be a Sign and Witter to them, that every one of them should know other. They rode in the Field, and horsed the King, and brought him forth of the Field on a din Hackney : But some say, they had him into *The Merse*, betwixt *Dunse* and *Kelso* ; what they did with him there I cannot tell : But one, ten Years thereafter, convicted of Slaughter, offered to the Duke of *Albany*, for his Life, to let him see the Place where the Prince was yearded ; to the Token, he should let him see his Belt of Iron lying beside him in the Grave : But, notwithstanding, this Man got no Audience by them that were about him ; the Duke of *Albany* desired not, at that Time, that such Thing should be known. But we will leave this, and return to our Purpose.

THE Field, discomfeist in this Manner, on both the Sides ; for neither *England* nor *Scotland* knew who had the better in that Battle, but that

the *Scottish*-Men mist their King ; for there was ever two *English*-Men slain for one *Scottish*-Man ; and so many of the *English*-Men that were alive, retired to the Earl of *Surrey*, and Lord *Howard* his Son, and retired a little from the Field, and stood on their Feet that Night, while on the Morn at nine Hours, not knowing who had win or tint the Field : And likewise the Lord *Hume* stood all that Night on his Feet, with the Number of ten thousand Men ; while, on the Morrow that the Sun rose, he seeing no Noife, neither of *English* nor *Scots*, departed his Way, and left the King's Artillery behind him, which he might have had rescued, and brought with him, if he had pleased : For I heard say, upon the Morn at ten Hours, that a hundred *Scottish*-Men might have brought away the King's Artillery safely, without any Stop of *English*-Men. But soon after, the *English*-Men hearing that the Lord *Hume* was retired from the Field, came soon together with the Number that they might be, carted it, and had it away to *Berwick*, where much of it remains to this Day ; syne went through the Field seeking the Noblemen who were slain, and in special the King's Grace. They found many like him, clad in his Coat of Armour, but no Man could say surely, that it was he ; because, the same Day of the Field, he caused ten to be clad in his Coat of Armour ; among the rest there were two of his Guard, the one called *Alexander Macculloch*, and the other *The Squire of Cleisch*, which were Men of Makedom both like the King : Therefore, when they were dead gotten in the Field, and the King's Coat of Armour upon them, the *English*-Men believing that one of them was the King, they took one of them, whom they thought most apparently to be like the King, and cast him in a Chariot, and had him away to *England* with them : But yet we know surely they got not the King, because they had never the Token of the Iron-Belt to shew to no *Scottish*-Man. This sorrowful Battle was stricken and ended, on this Manner, at *Floudoun-Hills*, in the Month of *September* the ninth Day, the Year of God One thousand five hundred and thirteen Years ; and of his Reign the twenty fifth Year.

*James IV.* unhappily slain in this Manner, with many of his Nobles ; not by the Manhood and Wisdom of *English*-Men, but by the King's own Misgovernance, that would not use the Counsel of his wise Nobles, in defending of his Honour, and preserving of his Army ; but used himself to his own sensual Pleasures, which was the Cause of his Ruin : Therefore all other Princes may take Example by him, which refused honest and good Counsel, and specially of them which were the principal Defenders of the Realm : Though he was the Head, they were the Arms, and the special Defence of the whole Body ; for oftentimes it is heard and seen, That the Arms defend the Head when it is pursued by Violence ; and are the Buckler that Man doth present for the Safeguard of the Head, though the Head sometimes makes little Defence to the Arms ; as so is seen of this unfortunate King, that brought his Barons to such a Point, through his wilful Misgovernance, that they were all cruelly murdered and slain, in his Default, and not in theirs. But now we will let him rest with God, and speak of his Son *James V.* and how the Realm was guided in his Minority.

THE



T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
K I N G J A M E S V.



*JAMES V.* being the Age of two Years and five Months, by Advice of the Lords, was crowned at *Stirling* the twentieth Day thereafter, and was in Government and Keeping of his Mother, *Margaret Queen of Scotland*, who chused a Guard to be about her Son, for Safeguard of his Body, to wit, the Lord *Avendale* and his Brother.

I N this mean Time, King *Harry VIII.* of *England* obtained his Pension; and hearing the King of *Scotland's* Death, was very heavily displeased therewith, and gave Command to his Nobles and Borders of *England*, under the Pain of Treason, that none of them should pass in *Scotland*, to invade the same, induring the King's Minority: And this he commanded straitly, and set out Letters thereupon, for Love of his Sister and Sister's Son; thinking that nought should fail on his Side, in observing of the Band made betwixt the King of *Scotland* and him. Notwithstanding, the Borderers of *Scotland* were ever doing what they might to break the same.

Y E T soon afterhend there came great Trouble in *Scotland* among ourselves; partly for the Authority, who should be highest, and have the Realm in Government; and partly for old Fead and Slaughter that had been before, in King *James IV.* his Time: Thinking, that it was then Time to quit Commons, when the Prince was young and no Authority,

thority to reign above them : For *James* Earl of *Arran* pretended highest in this Realm, to have the Government thereof, thinking that he was nearest of Blood unto the King in the Realm of *Scotland*, at that Time : But yet the Lords of *Scotland* would noways be content that he had any Preeminence or Authority, so long as the Queen kept her Widowhead, and her Body clean from Leachery.

BUT short Time after this the Earl of *Angus* haunted the Court, and was very lusty in the Queen's Sight, whom she loved, and thought most able ; and she took him to her Husband without the Advice and Counsel of the Lords ; for they knew nothing thereof a long Time after. Then the Earl of *Arran*, being advertised of her Behaviour and Proceedings, assembled all his Kinsmen and Friends together, and then past to *Edinburgh*, and desired the Lords to a Convention, shewing to them, that the Queen had tint her Government of the Prince, and the Authority of the Country, because she had taken a Husband without the Lords Advice : Therefore desired them that he might have the Authority, as nearest to him of the Blood. The Lords, hearing this, would conclude nothing at that Time, while they were further advised.

IN the mean Time the Earl of *Angus*, getting Wit of this Convention, and the Effect of their Purpose, came peartly to the Town of *Edinburgh*, with his Kin and Friends in Company, which were the Number of four hundred Spears, well arrayed in Jack and Spear, and other Armour, according to their Estate ; syne took his Lodging for that Night. But assoon as the Earl of *Arran* and Bishop *James Beaton*, and the Lave of his Complices, gat Wit that the Earl of *Angus* was come to the Town, and but a few Number with him, to the Effect of their Multitude, caused incontinent steik the Port of the Town, and thought to have taken him and put him in Prison : But his Friends, being advertised thereof, watched starkly that Night ; while, on the Morn, they come and shew the Earl of *Angus* the Provision that was making for him, shewing him, That if he passed not hastily to the Gate, and defend himself manfully, he would be taken out of his Lodging with his Enemies, and led captive at their Pleasure.

THIS the young Lord was nothing content with, but hasted him to his Armour, and caused his Friends and Servants to do the same ; and past to the Gate manfully, and stood at the *Nether-Bow* in arrayed Battle. But Mr. *Gavin Douglas*, Bishop of *Dunkel*, past betwixt, to see if he could find any good Ways betwixt the two Parties ; and in special he past to Bishop *James Beaton*, where he was in the *Black-Friers* Kirk for the Time. The said Mr. *Gavin* desired the said Bishop *James Beaton*, to take some Pains to labour betwixt the two Parties, who were at a sharp Point ; And some say, my Lord, you have the Wyte. But the Bishop answered him again with an Oath ( clapping on his Breast ) By my Conscience I know not the Matter. But when Mr. *Gavin* heard the Bishop's Purgation, and how he clapped on his Breast, and perceived the Plats of his Jack clattering, thought all was but vain that he had spoken ; and answered and said unto him, I perceive, my Lord, your Conscience is

*is not good, for I hear it clatter.* Of this the Bishop was ashamed, and excused the Matter so far as he could safely with his Honesty. But Mr. Gavin, seeing him in this Estate standing, passed from him to Sir Patrick Hamilton, desiring him, in like Manner, to speak with his Brother the Lord of Arran, that he would be contented that my Lord of Angus might pass to the Castle, and speak with the Queen's Grace, and thereafter to depart forth of the Town without Molestation or Trouble of any Man.

AT the whilk Request Sir Patrick Hamilton went, with all Diligence, to his Brother my Lord of Arran, and shew him my Lord of Angus's Desire, by his Uncle Mr. Gavin Douglas. Of the which Desire my Lord Arran was well content, that my Lord of Angus should have done his Business in the Town at his Pleasure, and to depart when he list, without Molestation or Trouble; and this by the Solicitation of Sir Patrick Hamilton his Brother. But Sir James Hamilton his Son, that bloody Butcher, ever thirsting for Blood, was noways content of this Appointment, but raged at the said Sir Patrick for his Labours, saying to him, *He had no Will to fight in his Friends Action nor Quarrel, though it were never so just.*

AT thir Novels the said Sir Patrick was so grieved, and burnt in Anger as the Fire, and answered the said Sir James in this Manner, saying to him, *Bastard-Smaik, thou liest falsely, I shall fight this Day where thou dare not be seen.* And with this rushed rudely out of their Lodgings, and past to the High-Gate in a furious Rage: But when the Earl of Angus saw them coming, and perceived Sir Patrick Hamilton foremost, with him the Master of Montgomery, and saw them in such a Fury, he knew well there was nothing but fighting; and cried on his Men to save Sir Patrick Hamilton, if they might: But he came so far before the Lave, that he was slain hastily, and with him the Master of Montgomery, with many other Gentlemen and Yeomen, to the Number of threecore twelve Persons. The Earl and all his Company gave Backs, and were chased and ran away outthrough the Loch; and Sir James his Son chased in the same Manner; and Bishop James Beaton fled to the Black-Friers, and was taken out behind the high Altar, and his Rocket riven off him, and had been slain, were not Mr. Gavin Douglas requested affectuously for him, saying, *It was Sin to put Hand in a consecrate Bishop:* Therefore they saved him at that Time. But the Earl of Angus past to the Castle, and spake with the Queen at his Pleasure: And so the Douglasses kept the Gate and their Honour at this Time. Long Time afterward this Skirmish was called, by the Commons of the Country and Town of Edinburgh, *Cleanse the Caserway.* The Date of this Skirmish was in the Year of God, One thousand five hundred and fifteen Years, in the Month of May.

SHORT While after this, the Earl of Angus became very proud and insolent in all his Doings, thinking, whoever had Right to the Authority, he should be nearest: To that Effect he cherished all loose Men, and most Part Thieves and Traitors of Anandale, Liddisdale and Te-

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*viadale*, that his Company, wherever they passed, made great Herfhip, Theft and Slaughter; and sometime in *The Merse* and *Lothian*, where the Lord *Hume* and his Friends had Dominion. The Lord *Hume*, being a wise and natural Man, considered the Earl of *Angus* Proceedings, and the great Favour and Love he had of the Queen, and the Victory he had of the Earl of *Arran*, thinking, that if he had rexed any longer without Correction, and a Fall, that he would overcome the whole Country, and that by the young Counsel he had about him.

THE Lord *Hume*, seeing this, set his Intent to put Remeid hereunto; and convened a Counsel, by his Moyens, of the most Part of the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, shewing to them, that the Realm was evil guided, and overhauled by my Lord of *Angus* and his Men, on the one Part; and my Lord of *Arran*, on the other Part; striving daily for the Authority; howbeit neither of them had Right thereto: Therefore desired their Wisdoms, that they would send to *France* to the Duke of *Albany*, who was the righteous Governor of this Realm, and desire him to come and receive the Authority and Guidship of the Country, to put Order thereunto during the King's Minority.

THE Lords, hearing this, caused the Chancellor to answer to the Lord *Hume*, who said unto him in this Manner, *My Lord, the Duke of Albany is a French-Man born; though he be nearest of Blood to have the Government of this Realm, yet he hath not our Language, nor knows not the Nature of our Country, nor Laws, nor Execution thereof, so well as our own Lords, that are born and gotten in Scotland, and have our Language: And therefore, my Lord, I think it best for me to chuse one of our own Lords, who understands us, and we him, and knows the Qualities of Scotland.* Further, the Chancellor nominate two, to wit, The Earl of *Arran* and the Earl of *Lennox*, thinking they would chuse one of this two. But the Lord *Hume* answered the Chancellor very sharply again, and said to him in this Manner. *My Lord, trust you, or any Lord that is here present at this Time, to defraud the Duke of Albany of his Right, and just Title of the Government of Scotland, by your Allegiance, or any Cause or Motion that ye can propose at this Time: For I assure you he shall and will come in Scotland, contrary all them that would not; and if no Man will consent thereto, I will consent; and, failing his Home-Coming, I shall rather pass for him myself.*

THE Chancellor and the Lords hearing this, the Lord *Hume* was so fervent in the Duke of *Albany*'s Cause, speired at the Lord *Hume*, if he would first subscribe the Election of the Duke of *Albany*, and they would follow syne, and subscribe; who answered and said, *He would with good Will:* And immediately took the Pen in his own Hand, and subscribed the said Election. Then all the Lave of the Lords and Barons subscribed the same; and directed their Commission thereupon to an Ambassador, to wit, Sir *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, directing him to *France* to the Duke of *Albany*, desiring him to come into *Scotland* to receive the Government thereof, by his own just Title and their Election, and their Hand-



Hand-Writs given thereupon. This Sir *Andrew Wood* made him ready, and dressed his Ship to pass forward this Message.

BUT, in this mean Time, Bishop *Andrew Forman* of *Murray*, and Legate of *Scotland* for the Time, had many of the Benefices in his Hands, by reason he was Legate; and principally of the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*, who had provided the Bulls thereof to himself; but he, on no Ways, could get them proclaimed, nor durst not intend the same, for Fear of the *Hepburns*; because Prior *John Hepburn* was Vicar-General of the Bishoprick of *St. Andrews*, and uptook the Profit thereof: Therefore he, nor none of his Friends, had no Will that Bishop *Andrew Forman's* Bulls should be proclaimed, but stopt them with all their Power, that, neither into *St. Andrews* nor *Edinburgh*, none durst intimate nor proclaim them, for Fear of the said Prior and his Friends.

THUS Bishop *Forman*, seeing this, made his Moan and Complaint to the Lord *Hume*, shewing him, That he was a *Mersa-Man* born, and all his Kin and Friends Servants to him and his House: Wherefore he desired him to cause his Bulls to be proclaimed, and to fortify him against the *Hepburns*: To that Effect he gave him the Priory of *Coldingham* to give to his Brother, which was vacant in his Hands at that Time, by reason he was Legate. The Lord *Hume*, seeing Bishop *Forman's* Liberality to him, caused his Brother Mr. *William Hume* pass to *Edinburgh*, with the Number of ten thousand Men, and there proclaimed the said Bishop's Bulls, contrary all the *Hepburns* Wills and Might, at that Time: And also pass to *St. Andrews* and intimate the same, and to give the Bishop Institution and Possession of the said Bishoprick. But Prior *John Hepburn*, hearing of this, convened his Friends, Servants and Tenants, whom he had of Gentlemen of *Fife*, and manned the Kirk of *St. Andrews* with Men, Weapons and Artillery, that, on no Ways, he would let the said Bishop enter therein, but at his Pleasure; and likewise kept the said Castle straitly against him, that he could get no Entres, neither in Kirk nor Castle. The Bishop, seeing this, thought well it was but Gear that would make the Matter even betwixt them, caused his Friends to labour to that Effect to satisfy the Prior's stubborn Mind; and, by the Counsel of wise Men, gave to this Prior the Vicar-Generallship free, together with three thousand Pounds, to give among his Friends; and so satisfied him on this Manner. But Prior *John* conceived sike Hatred against the *Humes*, for taking Part against him with this Bishop, that his Malice nor Envy was never quenched, so long as the Lord *Hume* or his Brother were one Life, as ye shall know afterward.

IN this mean Time, Sir *Andrew Wood* pass to *France*, and shew the Duke of *Albany* his Commission that he had from the Lords of *Scotland*, and in special from the Lord *Hume*; desiring him to come in *Scotland*, as I have shewn before, and there to receive the Government thereof, that Justice may be ministrats according to the Laws of this Realm. Of this Message and Commission the Duke of *Albany* was very well content, and thanked Sir *Andrew Wood* greatly, and rewarded him for his Labours; and

and syne passed to the King of *France*, and desired his Licence thereunto, shewing the Commission was brought to him out of *Scotland*, to be Governor, as we have shewn, desiring the King of *France* for Support of Men and Money to pass with him to *Scotland*, who granted to him very gently all that he would desire, and was very sorrowful at his Departing out of *France*; because he was such a Man of War, that he left not his Maik in the Realm of *France* behind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Duke passed to the Sea with five hundred Men and Artillery, such as he could provide: *That is to say*, Five hundred Men of War, twenty four Gentlemen in his Guard; together with Powder and Bullet, such as he might furnish at that Time, *that is to say*, Six great Canons, and six great Field-Pieces, with other small Artillery, with Culvering, Hagbut and Cors-Bow; and then passed hastily to Ship-Board, and pulled up Sail to pass to *Scotland*: But the *English*-Men, knowing of his Coming, made for him to have foughten with him: But he was so well artillied and manned, that they durst not mell with him; because they knew he was a noble Man of War, they let him pass by without any Impediment. So he came hastily in *Scotland*, and landed the tenth Day of *May*, in the Year One thousand five hundred and fifteen Years; who was well received in *Scotland* with all the Nobility and Commons thereof, thanking God that they had gotten one of the Blood-Royal of *Scotland* to reign over them, and govern them by Justice in the King's Minority. To that Effect the Lords incontinent convened at *Edinburgh*, and set a Parliament, that the Duke of *Albany* might be received as their Protector and Governor.

THIS Parliament was set in the Month of *July*, in the Year of God above written, which was holden at *Edinburgh* by Consent of the Queen and whole Nobility, both Spiritual and Temporal, with Commissioners of Boroughs: And there, really, and with Effect, received and admitted the Duke of *Albany* their Protector, and Governor of *Scotland*; and thereto made the Oath of Fidelity to him, to be leill, true and obedient unto the King's Majesty, and his Defence of the Commonweal, and Ministration of Justice induring the King's Minority." And likewise the Duke of *Albany* made his Oath unto them, in Presence of the whole Parliament, that he should be true to God and to the King, and to them, to minister Justice equally, both to great and small, without Acceptation of Persons; and to defend their Commonweal and Liberty so far as lay in his Power.

THIS being done, the whole Lords and Commons were glad at the Duke of *Albany*'s Presence, because they had so long wanted a Head to govern them; thinking that there would be no Strife nor Debate in the Country unpunished, but they would know to whom to complain, when Theft, Reiff and Slaughter were committed in the Country.

THEN Prior *John Hepburn* of *St. Andrews* clamb' next the Governor, and grew great in the Court, and remembred of old Malice and Envy betwixt him and the *Humes*; and also of the Bishop *Andrew Forman*,  
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and shew the Duke, who was then Governor, of all the Secrets and Demerits of the Lord *Hume*, and his Father, and his Brother, from the Field of *Bannockburn* to the Field of *Floudoun*; and specially how the Lord *Hume* and his Father had used themselves toward the Duke's Father and his Brother in their Banishment, with all Secrets and Invention that he could invent contrary the Lord *Hume* and his Brother, to cause the Duke of *Albany* look down upon them: And also shewing how Bishop *Forman* had gathered all the Substance of *Scotland* into his Hand, by his Legateship; and caused the Duke to throw with him, till he gave over certain Benefices to the Duke, to give unto his Friends, and specially the Bishoprick of *Murray*, and Abbayship of *Scoon*; which he gave to his Brother Bishop *Alexander*, who enjoyed and bruiked the same long Time thereafter; and Abbacy of *Melrofs* to Bishop *James Beaton*, with many other Benefices, by many others he gave to the Duke to win his Favour.

IN this mean Time the Governor past through the Country, to danton all Theft, Reiff and Slaughter committed before in the King's young Age. But when he came to *Kelfo*, *Fedburgh* and *Melrofs*, and there heard the Complaint of the People, and the Complaints made upon the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, and other great Men, who had opprest the Country in Time when there was no Justice ministrate, for Inlack of a Head to plaint to. The Governor, hearing thir great Complaints, was very sorrowful in his Heart, setting his whole Intent to remeid the same. Howbeit the great Lords could not be content therewith; yet he past forward to *Dumfries*, and to the Town of *Air*, and Parts of the *West-Land*, and heard of the cruel Slaughter betwixt the Lord *Montgomery*, the Lord *Kilmawers*, and the Lord *Semple*. And, finally, past to the *North* of *Scotland*, and heard the Complaints there, in like Manner; and syne came again to *Edinburgh*, and there advised with his Council, what was best to be done in this Matter, and how he might punish most quietly thir Injuries done by thir Lords, which he thought was overmuch to take in Hand to punish them openly: But if he had been more powerful than he was, considering himself to be a Stranger, and not knowing the Nature and Quality of them, and how the *Scottish-Men* cannot abide to be extremely used by Justice nor Punishment, nor yet can suffer their Neighbours to live in Peace and Rest beside them: Therefore he concluded with himself, that he would continue the Pursuit of Justice on them, till he thought better Time. And incontinent sent to the King of *France*, shewing him the Manner how *Scottish-Men* were all allied with other; so that every Man took Part with other against him; that they thought him but a Stranger, and would not be content that he used Justice upon them; nor he would not attempt the same without that he had more Power: Therefore beseeeking his Grace to support him with Men, Money and Munition, according to his Grace's Honour, and Welfare of *Scotland*; who was well content hereof, and supported accordingly to his Desire, both with Men, Munition and Money; and sent him three Ships therewith, which landed at the *West Sea*.

THE Lords hearing that the Governor was determinate to punish their Oppression and Wickedness, so soon as he thought Time convenient, they knowing that he had Support come out of *France*: To that Effect they laid their Heads together, and convened a Council at *Glasgow*, where many of the Lords assembled, to the Number of twelve thousand Men: *To wit*, The Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hume*, the Earl of *Arran*, with the whole Lords of the *West Land*, and some of the *North Land*. There were no *West-Land* Men away, except the Earl of *Lennox* and Lord *Erskine*, who then remained with the King at *Stirling*.

THE Lords, being convened in *Glasgow*, heard tell that there were three *French Ships* landed at the *West Sea*, with Men, Money and Artillery, come to the Duke of *Albany*: Therefore they sent a thousand Men to the said Ships, for to stop their Landing; but they were landed and away ere they came; but yet they got some of their Carts with Powder and Bullet, and brought them to *Glasgow*; and, for Despite, cast them in a great Draw-Well in *Glasgow*.

THEIR Tidings came to the Governor, that the Lords had risen against him, and had destroyed his Powder and Bullets; he was heavily commoved at the same, and vowed singularly to God, he should be revenged on their Contemption done to him, or, at the least, them that were the Occasion of the same; and past hastily forward to *Glasgow*, intending to cause them leave the Town, or to fight with them and put them out of *Glasgow*, or then to die in that Quarrel.

BUT Bishop *Andrew Forman*, seeing the Prince minded in this Manner, either to fight with them, or put them out of *Glasgow*, or else to die in that Quarrel, spurred hastily to *Glasgow*, to see if he might dress the Lords to obey their Magistrate, as they ought; and began to reason them in this Manner, as after follows, saying, *My Lords, I marvel of your Uncunstancy towards your Prince and Governor. Why have ye risen so against him, and have destroyed his Powder and Bullet? And, in plain Contemption, shewing yourselves so rebellious against him, that he, on no Ways, can be content without Obedience and Amendment in Time coming.* To this the Lords answered, saying, *He is not our Governor, nor we know not whereof he is come; whether he be a French-Man's Son, or a Scottish-Man's Son; or if he have Right to our Authority, or not.* To this answered Bishop *Andrew Forman*, saying, *My Lords, I marvel much of your Wisdoms, that would not consider that Cause at the first Time, when ye sent for him to France by your Hand-Writs and Commission; and syne received him in Scotland thankfully, and, in plain Parliament, abused and admitted him to be your Governor, and gave your Oaths of Fidelity to him, to maintain him to execute Justice according to the whole Law of your Realm. And now ye have risen against him, without any Cause or Motion made in his Part to you: Therefore I counsel you to leave such Things in Time coming, and to obey your Prince, as ye ought to do in all Affairs needful, according to Reason and Justice, for the Welfare of the Commonwealth,*

*weal, and of the Country ; and to leave the Town at this Time, and give Prince that Obedience, that he may repose him a little here, as ye have done ; and if ye would be wilful, and not consent to the same, he will either have it, or fight with you, though ye were ten Times more than he ; for he cares you not in his just Quarrel.*

THE Lords, hearing the Words of Bishop *Andrew Forman*, consulted together, and promised to leave the Town at the Governor's Coming, upon thir Conditions following : That is to say, *That the Governor's Grace shall remit all Things bygone, and receive them, in Time coming, as good Subjects unto the King's Grace and him, and never to call them for nothing bypast.* The which the Bishop promised, in the Governor's Name, that it should be kept unto them. Then they left the Town, and passed, that the Governor might have free Entres thereunto ; who lodged there that Night ; and, on the Morn, passed to *Stirling*, and visited the King's Grace ; syne went to *Edinburgh*, and there remained till all the Lords came and made their Obedience, and got a Remission for all Things bygone. But yet the Governor remembered of them, that were the Occasion of this Rebellion, to be satisfied of them.

IN this mean Time, the Earl of *Angus* was stolen quietly out of his Lodging, and had to the Ships, and convoyed quietly to *France*, and remained a Season without Company of any *Scottish-Man*, or scantly any knowing what Part of the World he was in.

IN this mean Time the Governor called a Convention at *Edinburgh*, to compear for Affairs of *England* ; and specially, he wrote for the Lord *Hume*, and Mr. *William* his Brother, because they knew the Affairs of *England* best, and such Matters as were to do at that Time. The whole Lords compeared at the Day appointed ; and specially, among the rest, the Lord *Hume* came to *Edinburgh*, and his Brother, who would not enter in the Abbay among the rest ; while, on the Morn, that his Brother was caused, by the Duke of *Albany*, to send a Token for him to come to the Council, because he knew the Proceedings of *England* and Affairs best of any Man : Therefore the Duke of *Albany* alledged, That he would send him as Ambassador to *England* at that Time ; which moved the Lord *Hume* to send a Token to his Brother, a Ring off his his Finger, which was a Sign betwixt them, and caused the said Mr. *William* to come incontinent to the Abbay to the Council, where the Governor and the Lords were for the Time.

AS SOON as the said Mr. *William* was entred into the Abbay-Gates, the said Gates were closed, and the *French-Men* past to their Harness, and laid Hands on the Lord *Hume* and his Brother, and put them in Prison, to wit, They put the said Mr. *William* to the Ships, and put him in the Castle of *Inch-Garvie*, and kept the Lord *Hume* still in the Abbay, till they summoned an Assize, and convicted them of Treason ; and thereafter strake the Heads from them.

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THEIR Novels came to *France* to the Earl of *Angus*, that the Lord *Hume* and his Brother were forfault and headed. Of thir Novels the Earl of *Angus* was nothing content, thinking himself in no less Danger than the Lord *Hume*, or his Brother, considering that he was participant in siklike Crimes of Lese-Majesty, as they were: Therefore he convoyed himself quietly out of *France* to *England*, where he was well received and treated for the Queen of *Scotland's* Cause, because he was her Husband.

SHORT While hereafter the Queen of *Scotland* got Word that her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, was come to *England*, and past all Danger of *France*, she was very glad and rejoyced; for she was great with Child to him, almost at her Deliverance; yet, notwithstanding, for Love she bure to her Husband, and Desire to speak with the King of *England* her Brother, she setting all Danger and Peril aside, left her young Son, the King's Grace of *Scotland*, in the Castle of *Stirling*, in keeping of the Captain, and his Guard about him, and took her Voyage and past in *England* to *London* to King *Hary* her Brother, where she was honourably received, and tenderly treated, and remained there at her Pleasure, and got all Things at her Brother King *Hary*, that she would desire. But, short Time after she came there, she was delivered of a Daughter, named Lady *Margaret*, who remained still there to this Day, well entertained, intending to the Crown by her or her Succession.

AND this done, Queen *Margaret* returned to *Scotland*, with her Husband the Earl of *Angus*, with great Supplications from King *Hary* to the Duke of *Albany*, to receive her Husband, the Earl of *Angus*, in good Thanks, and all Faults bygone to be remitted. Of the which the Duke of *Albany*, hearing the Request of King *Hary*, was very glad, and accepted and granted all Things that the Queen would desire in the King *Hary's* Name; and specially for Receipt and Entertainment of her Husband; which the Governor was well content, and took the Earl of *Angus's* Oath of Fidelity, That he should be just and true unto the King's Majesty, and the Governor's Grace induring the King's Minority.

THIS being done, the Realm stood in great Tranquillity and Peace, and the Nobles obeyed their Prince, as they ought to do, in all civil Matters and honest; and therethrough the Commonweal flourished a long While: Till, at the last, the King of *France* sent Letters in *Scotland* to the Duke of *Albany*, to come and speak with him in all goodly Haste, for such Affairs as he had ado at that Time. The Duke of *Albany*, obedient unto the King of *France's* Desire, put the Realm in Order, and left Monsieur *Delabatie* Regent in his Place, to his Returning out of *France*; and gave him Command to use all Men equally; and, in the mean Time, went to his Ships, and past to *France*.

IN this mean Time, *Delabatie* being Regent, as we have shown, remained in the Abbay of *Holy-rood-house*, and a Guard of *French*-Men about him, to the Number of fourscore of Hagbitters, to be ready at his Command when he charged. And so it happeneth at this Time, on the Month

Month of \_\_\_\_\_ and in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and \_\_\_\_\_ Years, there was a Gentleman in *Edinburgh*, named *William Meldrum* Laird of *Binns*, who had, in Company with him, a fair Lady, called the Lady *Gleneagies*, who was Daughter to Mr. *Richard Laweson* of *Humby*, Provost of *Edinburgh*; the which Lady had born to this Laird two Bairns, and intended to marry her, if he might have had the Pope's Licence, because her Husband before and he were sib: Yet, notwithstanding, a Gentleman, called *Luke Stirling*, envied this Love and Marriage betwixt thir two Persons, thinking to have the Gentlewoman to himself in Marriage; because he knew the Laird might not have the Pope's Licence by the Laws: Therefore he solistified his Brother's Son, the Laird of *Keir*, with a certain Company of armed Men, to set upon the Laird of *Binns*, to take this Lady from him by Way of Deed; and, to that Effect, followed him betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and set on him beneath the *Rood-Chapel*, with fifty armed Men; and he again defended him with five in Number, and fought cruelly with them, and slew the Laird of *Keir*'s principal Servant before his Face, defending himself; and hurt the Laird, that he was in Peril of his Life, and twenty six of his Men hurt and slain; yet, through Multiplication of his Enemies, he was overset and driven to the Earth, and left lying for dead, hought of his Legs, and stricken through the Body, and the Knops of his Elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty Power of God, he escaped the Death, and all his Men that were with him, and lived fifty Years thereafter.

IN the mean Time Word came to Monsieur *Delabatie*, where he was at that Time, in the Abbay of *Holy-rood-house*, that such a Nobleman was slain and murdered at his Hand. And he incontinently gart strike an Alarm, and blew his Trumpets, and rang the common Bell, commanding all Men to follow him, both on Foot and Horse, that he might revenge the said Slaughter; and rushed fiercely forward to the Place where the Battle was stricken, and saw this Nobleman lying deadly wounded, and his Men about him in this same Manner; and past fiercely after the Enemies, and Committers of the said Crime, and overhyed them at *Lithgow*; where they took the Peel upon their Heads to be their Safeguard, thinking to defend themselves therein; notwithstanding, this noble Regent lap manfully about the House, and sieged it continually, till they rendred the same to come in his Will; who took them and brought them to *Edinburgh*, and gave them a fair Affize; who were all convicted and condemned of the said Crime; and thereafter were put in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in sure Keeping; induring the Regent's Will. And syne, a little thereafter, the Regent past to *The Merse*, to the Town of *Dunse*, to hold a Justice-Court, who was convoyed by the Lairds of *Cesfoord* and *Pharnibest*, giving him to understand, That they should bring him safely through the Country unto *Edinburgh* again.

NEVERTHELESS, the Laird of *Wedderburn* and his Complices envied Monsieur *Delabarrie*, for the Duke of *Albany's* Cause, seeing he was left in his Place, and was but a Stranger, he thought he would be

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revenged on him ; and so chapped him by the Host a little, and, at an Outside, watched him ; so that he took Fear, and spurred his Horse, and took the Flight, and fled toward the Castle of *Dumbar*, thinking to win the fame, because his Horse was good. Notwithstanding, all was for nought ; he, being a Stranger, and knew not the Gate, ran his Horse into a Flow-Moss, where he could not get out till his Enemies came upon him, and there murdered him, and cutted off his Head, and took it with them : And because his Hair was long, like Womens, and plat on a Head-Lace, *David Hume* of *Wedderburn* knit it on his Saddle-Bow.

SYNE after *Novels* came to *France* to the Duke of *Albany*, who was not content with the fame ; but past to the King of *France*, and shew him what Estate the Realm of *Scotland* stood in at that Time, and how they could not be content with no civil Man to be their Governor nor Head, nor no Man to minister Justice unto them. Further, she shew him the Slaughter of *Delabatie*, and how he was displeased thereat. But the King of *France* answered and said, *My Lord, you did evil that would not make a Scottish-Man Governor in your Absence ; for I wist well they would envy a French-Man for your Sake ; yet, notwithstanding, take a good Heart, I shall support and maintain you to revenge the Matter, as ye will desire at my Hand.*

THEIR good Words of Comfort of the King of *France*, mitigated and asswaged the Duke of *Albany's* Anger at that Time. Syne he took Counsel of his Friends and wise Captains, what was best to be done in revenging of the Cause foresaid ; who gave him Counsel to seek Support of the King of *France*, and to pass hastily in *Scotland*, for revenging of the said Slaughter ; fearing, if he tarried any longer, he should have more ado, and more Enemies against him in the Realm of *Scotland*.

TO this Counsel the Duke of *Albany* consented, and passed to the King of *France*, and asked Supply of him to pass to *Scotland*, for such Causes as he had shown his Grace. The King of *France* was well content of his Charge, and gart furnish unto him three great Ships, and three thousand Men of War, for Year and Day, together with Munition, Powder, Bullets, as the said Duke would devise ; and gart furnish fix Ships, of the best he had, to bring him through the Sea safely to *Scotland*.

WHEN this was done, the Duke of *Albany* took his Leave of the King of *France*, and passed to the Sea, and came to *Scotland* : And, after he had landed in *Scotland*, made hasty Persecution on the *Humes*, and specially on the Laird of *Wedderburn*, who was principal Slayer of *Delabatie* : But yet, on no Ways, he could apprehend him ; for he fled in *England*, and remained there so long as the Duke abode in *Scotland* ; yet the Duke passed through *Scotland*, and ministered Justice according to his Duty. And specially, he raised a great Army in the Time of Winter, and passed to the *West Borders*, called *Solway-Sands*, and there was advised to have sieged *Carlisle* : But the Lord *Dacres* and he appointed



pointed on all Debates and Redrefs in the Borders, that he so continued the Seige, and passed Home; and thereafter, the first next Year, past to *Wark*, and sieged it: But the Borderers deceived him, and caused his Captains of War to be hanged over the Walls, when they had brushed and won the House; the *English*-Men, seeing no *Scottish*-Man backing them, incontinent dang them forth of the Castle, and hanged their Captains: And the Duke seeing he was deceived by the Borderers, and them that he gave Credit to, for to have rescued his Men and backed them, he took an Anger, and took up his Camp, and came to his own Castle to *Dumbar*, and there remained a While, and gart Craftsmen and Masons fall to Work, and big in the same a great Store-House and Inch, called *The Outward Block-House*, and garnished it with Artillery, Powder and Bullets.

IN this mean Time, the Master of *Hails*, and the Laird of *Nisbet*, called *Cbirnsfide*, and one *Heathy*, through Counsel of the *Hepburns*, cruelly murdered a young innocent Man, Prior of *Coldingham*, thinking to do the Duke a Pleasure, to be a Revenge of the Slaughter of *Delabatie*.

IN this Year departed Bishop *Forman*, who was Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and Legate of *Scotland*. But Prior *John Hepburn*, and his Friends, caused take the Castle of *St. Andrews*, and keep it, because he was Vicar-General for the Time: But Bishop *James Beaton* hastily obtained the same by Way of Court, and agreed with Prior *John Hepburn* for his Vicarship and Generalship, and Satisfaction of all other Things pertaining to his Office.

IN this mean Time the King came to the Age of eleven Years; and the Duke of *Albany* seeing the Realm of *Scotland*, and the Nobles thereof, of such Qualities and Conditions, that few or none of them might give Credit to other: Therefore he was advised utterly to leave them, and pass in *France* again to live there; and therefore he furnished *Dumbar* with Men and Victuals, and made a *French*-Man Captain of it, named Captain *Morice*; and thereafter stablished the Realm, in Manner as after followeth. That is to say, He made the Earl of *Lennox*, and Bishop *James Beaton*, and a *French*-Man called Monsieur *Lusence*, Regents, till the King was twelve Years of Age; for he knew then the Lords would chuse new Governors among themselves. And the Duke of *Albany* took his Leave at the King and Council, and passed in *France*. So all the Time that the Duke was in *Scotland*, first and last, was five Years and a Half.

THEN, when the Duke was departed, there arose great Trouble and deadly Feuds in many Parts of *Scotland*, both in the *North* and *West* Parts. The Master of *Forbes*, in the *North*, slew the Laird of *Mel-drum* under Tryft. Likewise, the Laird of *Drumelzier* slew the Lord *Fleming* at the Hawking. And likewise there was Slaughter among many other great Lords; that is to say, Betwixt the Lord of *Kilmawers* and the Master of *Semple*.

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THIS Cumber drew over, till the King was twelve Years of Age ; and then the whole Lords of *Scotland* laid their Heads together, and thought that they would bring the King to the Fields, and put the whole Government into his own Hands. Notwithstanding, the King, hearing Word of this Preeminence, was gladly content to leave Correction at the Schools, and pass with his Lords at Liberty, where he pleased. The Lords horsed the King, and gart prepare for him all Manner of riding Gear pertaining to a Prince ; and syne took him forth of the Castle of *Stirling*, and brought him to the Abbay of *Holy-rood-house* ; and there took up House with all Manner of Office-Men that were necessary to be had for him, and discharged all his old Officers, and put new in their Steads ; *that is to say*, Treasurer, Comptroller, Secretary, Mr. Macer, Mr. Household, Capper, Carver, Mr. Stabler, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Falconer, Mr. Porter, and a Fool called *John Mackilrie*. Further, there were four Lords, *Angus*, *Argyle*, *St. Andrews*, *Lennox*, chosen to be Tutors and Governors to the King, that all Casualties and Benefices should be disposed by them ; and that they should remain still with the King, and give him their Council in all Things pertaining to his Honour, and the Well of his Country.

THE King and the Lords remained in *Edinburgh*, at *Holy-rood-house*, the Space of a Year, with great Chear, Triumph and Merrinels ; till, at the last, there vaked some Benefice, which put them all at Discord for Disposition of the same ; for every Lord thought he would be served according to his Room and Estate ; but the Earl of *Angus* warred the other three : For, when he had gotten *Dunkel*, he would have had *Coldingham* ; and could not be staked so ; but, when *Holy-rood-house* vaked, he would have had it also ; and shew the Lords, he was scant of Hay and Horfe-Corn, when he came to the Town : Therefore he behoved to have that Benefice, with the Lave, to find his Horfe Meat. And the Lave of the Lords considering the Earl of *Angus's* Greediness, that he would not be content without that he had all at his Disposition, and considered nothing of their Expences in the King's Service that they had made, as well as he : And the Earl of *Lennox* got nothing ; wherefore he tyred of the Court, and past Home to his own Country : And so did the Earl of *Arran*, and past to *Hamiltoun* to his own Place. But Bishop *James Beaton* remained still in *Edinburgh*, in his own Lodging that he bigged in the *Frier-Wynd* ; for he might not pass out of the Town, for he was Chancellor for the Time, and sat on the Seat to use Justice ; and came never toward the Court nor the King, but as he was sent for. Thus the Earl of *Angus* guided all the whole King and Court as he pleased ; and made his Eame, *Archibald Douglas*, Treasurer of *Scotland* ; and *George* his Brother, Mr. Household to the King ; and himself Lieutenant to the King through all *Scotland*. But yet the Queen's Grace tyred of him, and parted with him ; and, a little after, married *Hary Stuart* Brother to my Lord of *Avendale* ; and thereafter she made the said *Hary* Lord of *Metboen*.

NOTWITHSTANDING, my Lord of *Angus* took little Suffie at the same, but guided and ruled the King as he pleased, and caused him  
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to ride through all *Scotland*, under the Pretence and Colout of Justice, to punish Thief and Traitor; but none were found greater than were in their own Company. Further, he caused strike a Groat of eighteen Pennies, which afterward was called the *Douglas* Groat. And none, at that Time, durst strive with a *Douglas*, nor yet a *Douglas's* Man; for if they would, they got the worse: Therefore none durst plainzie of no Extortion, Theft, Reiff nor Slaughter done to them by the *Douglasses* or their Men; in that Cause they were not heard, so long as the *Douglas* had the Court in guiding. This still they continued a While, so long as Fortune bare them Favour.

IN the mean Time, a cunning Clerk called Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Fern*, and Brother-German to the Sheriff of *Lithgow*, who was summoned and called before the principal Council, holden at *St. Andrews* for the Time by Bishop *James Beaton*, with the rest of many of the Clergy of *Scotland*; and there he was accused for Heresie before the said Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and Doctors of Theology, Gray-Friers and Black. His Accuser was a Black-Frier, called *Alexander Campbel*, who read his Articles, and said to him, *Heretick, thou said, it was leifome to all Men to read the Word of God, and, in special, the New Testament.* Mr. *Patrick* answered, *I wot not if I said so; but I say it is Reason, and leifome to all Men that have a Soul, to read the Word of God, and that they may understand the same; and, in special, the Latter-Wills and Testament of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknowledge their own Sins, and repent of the same, and may amend their Lives by Faith and Repentance, and come to the Mercy of God by Christ Jesus.* Now, *Heretick, I see thou affirms the Words of thy Accusation.* Mr. *Patrick* answered, *I affirm nothing but the Word which I have spoken in Presence of this Auditory.* Now further, thou says, *it was not leifome to worship Imagery.* Mr. *Patrick* answered, *I say not further, but that God spake to Moses, in the twentieth Chapter of Exodus, in the second Commandment, Thou shalt not make any graven Image, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them. And also David, in his Psalms, curseth them that are the Makers of Images, and the Outsetters, Maintainers and Worshipers of the same.* Then answered the Accuser, *Heretick, knows thou not Imagery is the Books of the Laick and common People, to put them in Remembrance of the holy Saints that wrought for their Salvation?* Then answered Mr. *Patrick*, Brother, it ought to be Preaching of the true Word of God, that should put the People in Remembrance of the Blood of Christ, and their Salvation. Then says the Accuser, *Heretick, thou says it is but lost Labour to pray or to call upon Saints that wrought for their Salvation; and, in special, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as Mediators to God for us.* Mr. *Patrick* answered, *I say, with Paul, there is no Mediator betwixt God and Man, but Christ Jesus his Son; and whatsoever they be, that calls or prays to any Saint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of his Office.* The Accuser says, *Heretick, thou says, it is all in vain our Labours made for them that are departed, when we sing Soul-Mass, Psalms and Dirigies, which is the Relaxation of the Souls that are departed, who are contained in the Pains*  
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of Purgatory. Mr. Patrick answered, *Brother, I read never in the Scripture of God; of such a Place as Purgatory, nor yet believe that there is any Thing that may purge the Souls of Men, but the Blood of Christ Jesus; which Ransom standeth in no earthly Thing, nor in Soul-Mass, nor Dirigie, nor in Gold, nor Silver, but only by Repentance of Sins, and Faith in the Blood of Christ Jesus.* The Accuser answered, *My Lord, you hear he denies the Institution of holy Kirk, and the Authority of our holy Father the Pope. I need not to accuse him no more.*

THE Bishops and the Lords of Religion laid their Heads together, and gave Sentence against this innocent Man, and condemned him to the Death; and syne brought him forth of the Abbay-Kirk of *St. Andrews*; and forenent the old College, called *Salvator's College*, where was a great Fire, and a Stake, and a Scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent Man, in Presence of all the People; and syne required of him, if he would recant the Words and Confession that he made in the Abbay-Kirk, and he should burn his Faggot, and his Life should be safe. Mr. Patrick answered, *As to my Confession, I will not deny it for the Awe of your Fire; for my Confession and Belief is in Christ Jesus: Therefore I will not deny it. And I will rather be content, that my Body burn in this Fire, for Confession of my Faith in Christ, than my Soul should burn in the Fire of Hell, for denying the same.* But, as to the Sentence and Judgment pronounced against me this Day, by the Bishops and Doctors, I here, in Presence of you all, appeal contrary the said Sentences and Judgment given against me, and take me to the Mercy of God; and summon you, Sir Frier, before the Tribunal-Seat of God and Christ Jesus his Son, that ye there compear within the Space of forty Days, to answer before that Judge, for your wrongous Accusation contrary to your Conscience. By this Mr. Patrick left off his Speaking, and entred in Contemplation and Prayer to Almighty God to be merciful to the People who persecuted him; for there were many of them blinded in Ignorance, that they knew not what they did. And also besought *Christ Jesus* to be Mediator for him unto the Father; and that he would strengthen him with his holy Spirit, that he might stedfastly abide the cruel Pains and Flames of Fire prepared for him by that cruel People: And that the Pains of that Torment were not the Occasion to cause him swerve or shrink from any Point of his Faith in *Christ Jesus*, but to strengthen and augment him in his Spirit, and Knowledge in the Promise of God, and to receive his Soul in his Hands, for *Christ Jesus* Sake; and, in his Name, he made this Oblation and Offering, *that is to say, His Body in the Fire, and his Soul in the Hands of Almighty God; and so made an End of his Speaking.* Then they laid to the Fire to him; but it would nowise burn nor kindle a long While. Then a Baxter, called *Myrtoun*, ran and brought his Arms full of Straw, and cast it in to kindle the Fire: But there came such a Blast of Wind from the East, forth of the Sea, and raised the Flame of Fire so vehemently, that it blew upoff the Frier that accused him, that it dang him to the Earth, and burnt all the Fore-Part of his Coull; and put him in such a Fray, that he came never to his right Spirits again, but wandred about the Space of forty Days, and then departed. This cruel Act of Persecution

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was used against this godly Man, at *St. Andrews*, in the Year One thousand five hundred and twenty five Years, in the Month of *September*.

ABOVR this Time the King went to the *South Land* to the *Airs*, and held Justice in *Fedburgh*; where there came many Complaints to the King, of Reiff, Slaughter and Oppression; but little Justice was used, but by the Purse: For there were many that were of the Earl of *Angus's* Kin, Friends and Servants, that got Justice by Favour. Of the which the King was nothing content, nor none of the Lave of the Lords that were about him; for they would have had Justice equally used to all Men without Partiality, or Exception of Persons. But, notwithstanding, the Earl of *Angus* and the rest of the *Douglasses* ruled all which they liked; and no Man durst say the contrary: Wherefore the King was heavily displeased, and would fain have been out of their Hands, if he might by any Way: And, to that Effect, wrote a quiet and secret Writing with his own Hand, and sent it to the Laird of *Buccleugh*, beseeeking him, that he would come with his Kin and Friends, and all the Force that he might be, and meet him at *Metrofs* at his Home-Passing; and there to take him out of the *Douglasses* Hands, and to put him to Liberty, to use himself among the Lave of his Lords, as he thinks expedient.

THIS Writing was quietly directed, and sent by one of the King's own secret Servants, which was received very thankfully by the Laird of *Buccleugh*, and was very glad thereof, to be put to such Charges and Familiarity with his Prince; and did great Diligence to perform the King's Writing, and to bring the Matter to pass as the King desired: And, to that Effect, convened all his Kin and Friends, and all that would do for him, to ride with him to *Metrofs*, when he knew of the King's Home-Coming. And so he brought in Company with him, six hundred Spears of *Liddisdale* and *Anandale*, and Country-Men and Clans thereabout, and held themselves quiet while that the King returned out of *Fedburgh*, and came to *Metrofs*, and to remain there all that Night.

BUT when the Lord *Hume*, *Cesford*, and *Fernyharst*, took their Leave from the King, and returned Home, then appeared the Laird of *Buccleugh* in Sight, and his Company with him, in an arrayed Battle, intending to have fulfilled the King's Petition; and therefore came stoutly forward in the Back-Side of *Halidenhill*. By that the Earl of *Angus*, and *George Douglas* his Brother, with sundry other of his Friends, seeing this Army coming, they marvelled what the Matter meant; while, at the last, they knew the Laird of *Buccleugh*, with a certain Company of the Thieves of *Anandale* with him, they were the less affeared, and made them manfully to the Field contrary them; and said to the King, on this Manner, *Sir, you is Buccleugh and Thieves of Anandale with him, to unbeset your Grace from the Gate. I asow to God, they shall either fight or flee; and ye shall tarry here on this Know, and my Brother George with you, with any other Company you please; and I shall pass and put you Thieves off the Ground, and rid the Gate unto your Grace;*

*Grace, or else die for it.* The King tarried still, as was devised, and *George Douglas* with him, with sundry other Lords, such as the Earl of *Lennox*, and the Lord *Erskine*, and some of the King's own Servants; but all the Lave past with the Earl of *Angus* to the Field against the Laird of *Buccleugh*, who joyned and countered cruelly, both the said Parties, in the Field of *Darnelinvir*, either against other, with uncertain Victory: But, at last, the Lord *Hume*, hearing Word of that Matter how it stood, returned again to the King in all possible Haste; with him the Laird of *Cesfoord* and *Farniburft*, to the Number of fourscore Spears, and set on freshly on the Lap and Wing of the Laird of *Buccleugh*'s Field, and shortly bure them backward to the Ground; which caused the Laird of *Buccleugh* and the rest of his Friends to go back and flee; whom they followed and chased, especially the Laird of *Farniburft* and *Cesfoord* followed so furiously, while, at the Foot of a Path, the Laird of *Cesfoord* was slain by the Stroke of a Spear, by an *Eliot*, who was then Servant to the Laird of *Buccleugh*: But when the Laird of *Cesfoord* was slain, the Chase ceased. But the Earl of *Angus* returned again with great Merriness and Victory, and thanked God that he saved him from that Chance. And past with the King to *Melrofs*, where they remained all that Night; while, on the Morn, they past to *Edinburgh* with the King, who was very sad and dolorous of the Slaughter of the Laird of *Cesfoord*, and many other Gentlemen and Yeomen slain by the Laird of *Buccleugh*, containing the Number of fourscore and fourteen, which died in Defence of the King, and at the Command of his Writing. Howbeit, it was not known to every Man, which caused the King to be so heavily sad and dolorous; thinking that, on no Ways, he could be quit of the Earl of *Angus* and his Friends: Therefore he cast his Ingyne to seek Remedy hereunto; and sent for Bishop *James Beaton* to have his Counsel how he might be best quit of the Earl of *Angus*, and the rest of his Kin and Friends.

THIS Bishop, being a wise Man, gave the King Counsel to send for the Earl of *Lennox*, to see his Mind thereunto, because he was nearest of Kin to the King, and of his Sirname: Therefore he was the meetest and habilest of any Man for to deliver the King unto his Liberty.

THE King, hearing of thir Words, sent for the Earl of *Lennox*, and spake with him, and gave him his Commission to raise his Lieges as he pleased; to that Effect, that he should come to *Edinburgh*, with all the Power that he might be, and to take the King out of the *Douglasses* Hands by Force.

THE Earl of *Lennox*, hearing this Charge and Commission of the King, was well content: And, to that Effect, gathered all that he might be, in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Strathern*, *Stirling-shire*, and all the whole *West* Land, and came to *Stirling* with the Number of ten thousand Men; where Bishop *James Beaton* met him, with all the Gentlemen in *Fife*, and there accompanied with him to the Effect foresaid; and also the Master of *Kilmawers* came to him out of the *West*, *Kyle*, *Cariet* and *Cunningham*, which were in Number two thousand Men, and took his Van-

Vanguard in Hand, to come forward to the Town of *Edinburgh*: But the Earl of *Angus*, knowing this Nobleman the Earl of *Lennox* gathering against him, with Bishop *James Beaton*, and the Master of *Kilmawers*; and hearing that they were so great of Number, knew well it was not without the King's Advice; whereat he was greatly astonished: Yet, notwithstanding, he took such Courage and Hardiment, that he knew well there was no Remedy, but either to do or die; and sent incontinent to all his Friends, and in special to the Lord *Hume* and *Farniberst*, and the Laird of *Cesford*. Also he sent to the Lord *Hamilton*, shewing him the Earl of *Lennox* was coming with an Army to take the King from him; beseeching him that he would concur with him, and support him in that Cause, which was for his own Well, saying, *That if the Earl of Lennox overcame him, that the next Day he would do likewise with him: Therefore it were best to debate with both their Powers and Strengths in Time.* Of this Desire the Lord *Hamilton* was well content, and promised to meet the Earl of *Angus*, with all his Kin and Friends, at *Lithgow*.

BUT, on the Morn afterhend, the Earl of *Lennox* came out of *Stirling* with three great Hosts, marching forward to *Edinburgh* to set forward his Purpole and Intent, which he had taken in Hand at the King's Command. Incontinent the Earl of *Angus* was advertised of their Coming, and shew the King the Manner how it stood, desiring his Grace to make Proclamations, both in *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, that all Manner of Man, betwixt sixty and sixteen, should rise incontinent, and follow the King, and debate his Grace.

THE King, hearing thir Words of the Earl of *Angus*, and knowing how the Matter stood, gave but little Answer to the Earl of *Angus*. The Earl, seeing that the King was slow in the Matter, wist well there was nothing but either to do or die: And therefore made him manfully to the Fields; and caused his Friend *Archibald Douglas*, Provost of *Edinburgh*, to ring the common Bell, and put the Town in Order, and commanded them to rise and come with the King in all Hast, to defend him against his Enemies; and left his Brother with the King, to cause him rise and to come forward for to support him, for he would pass forward incontinent to meet the Lord *Hamilton*, who was above *Lithgow* in Readiness, with the Number of two thousand Men; and the Earl of *Angus* past forward himself, with the *Humes* and *Kers*, which were in Number two thousand.

BY this the Word came to the Town of *Edinburgh*, That the Earl of *Lennox* was within a Mile of *Lithgow*, with three great Hosts, to the Number of twelve thousand Men, well furnished with Artillery, and was purposed to come to *Edinburgh*, if he were not stopt. Then *George Douglas*, hearing this, desired the King to rise and pass forward, and help his Brother, to support him against his Enemies, shewing him how nearhand they were. But the King's Grace took little Thought of the Matter, and was slow in his Out-redding. But, at last, the Post came from the Earl of *Angus*, shewing the King, that both the Armies were

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in Sight of other, and were purposed to fight : Therefore prayed the King's Grace to come forward, with the Town of *Edinburgh*, to rescue the Earl of *Angus*, or else he would be lost, by reason of the Number of the other Party.

THEN the King caused blow his Trumpets, and lap on Horse, and gart ring the common Bell of *Edinburgh*, commanding all Manner of Man to follow him. So he rushed out of the *West-Port*, and all the Town of *Edinburgh* and *Leith* with him, to the Number of three thousand Men, and rode forward ; but, ere they came to *Corstorphin*, they heard the Artillery shoot on both Sides, like as it had been Thunder. Then *George Douglas* cried on the King, beseeeking his Grace, for God's Sake, to ride faster, that he might rescue and help his Brother.

By this the Post came, and shew the King, that both the Fields were joyned, and foughten furiously with others, on the *West-Side* of *Lithgow*, two Miles *West* the Town ; and that the Earl of *Angus* and the Earl of *Glencairn* were yoked together ; and the Lord *Hamilton's* Force and the Earl of *Lennox* were yoked in like Manner, and both fighting furiously. Then the King rode fast to see the Manner : But incontinent there met him a Post, shewing him, that the Earl of *Lennox*-Men were fled from him ; and he believed that he had tint the Field.

BUT then the King was very sorry, and cried on all his Servants, and all that would do for him, to ride to the Field and stench Slaughter ; and, in special, to save the Earl of *Lennox*, if he could apprehend him alive. With this the King's Servants, and sundry Gentlemen, past, at the King's Command ; with *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, which was one of the King's familiar Servants, and Carver to him, at that Time ; and hasted their Horse, as fast as they might bear them, to the Field, to keep the King's Command, to save all from Slaughter ; and, in special, the Earl of *Lennox*, whom they found lying slain, in the Dead-Throw, cruelly, by Sir *James Hamilton*, that Tyrant, after that he was taken in the Field by the Laird of *Pardovan*, and his Weapons taken from him : In this mean Time, Sir *James Hamilton*, that cruel Murderer, gart shut him from the Takers, and slew him without Mercy ; and so did he all that he might overtake that Day in the Field. There were many marked that Day with this Murderer ; some in the Chafts with his Sword, and some otherwise.

BUT we will return to Sir *Andrew Wood*, and the King's Servants, who rode swiftly through the Fields, to save all Friends that they might keep on Life ; and, at last, they found the Earl of *Glencairn* still fighting, and not thirty Men left of all his Army on Life, unslain, and fled from him : But yet he was in such a Strength, that his Enemies might nowise war him, so long as he had any Men left on Life to defend him. But immediately Sir *Andrew Wood*, the King's Servant, took him and saved him, and brought him away, and convoyed him to a quiet Place, where neither the *Douglasses* nor the *Hamiltons* might get him to do him Skaith.

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THIS being done, the King's Servants came through the Field, and saw the Lord *Hamilton* standing mourning beside the Earl of *Lennox*, saying, *The wisest Man, the stoutest Man, the hardiest Man, that ever was born in Scotland, was slain that Day*; and his Cloke of Scarlet cast upon him, and gart Watch-Men stand about him, till the King's Servants came and buried him. This Matter being ended, and many slain and taken on both the Sides; and, in special, the Earl of *Lennox*, with many Gentlemen of the *West Land* with him; and likewise the Earl of *Glencairn* evil wounded to the Dead, and many of his Friends and Servants slain, and also some Gentlemen of *Fife* both taken and slain. This cruel unhappy Field was stricken in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and twenty six Years, and in the Month of *September*.

THEN the Earl of *Angus* returned to the King with Glorie and Victory, well commended of all Men for the Chance and Victory that fell unto him. Then the King, with the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Hamilton*, with the *Humes* and *Kers*, went all that Night to *Lithgow*, and remained there in great Merriness: But the King was very sad and dolorous for the Tinsel of his Eame the Earl of *Lennox*, and many other Gentlemen with him, who perished by the King's Occasion: For they enterprised the Matter at the King's Command. And further, the King was very afraid, and despaired of his own Life; because he knew well the Earl of *Angus* understood that he gart enterprise such Acts against him; and nothing prospered well with the King against the said Earl: Therefore he was afraid they would put Hand in his own Body, considering all Things succeeded so well with him: But yet I can never find, That ever the Earl of *Angus*, or the *Douglasses*, or none of the *Douglasses*, failed to the King in any Part, though they were covetous, greedy, and Oppressors of their Neighbours; yet they were ever true, kind, and serviceable to the King in all his Affairs; and oftentimes offered their Bodies in Jeopardy for his Sake.

THIS being done, the King returned to *Edinburgh* very sad and sorrowful, that he, on no Ways, could come to his Purpose; but yet he remained quiet within himself. And the *Douglasses* took over high upon them; wherefore they began to punish all them that came against them with the Earl of *Lennox*; and specially, they fled Bishop *James Beaton* so, that he stole away, and durst not a long Time be seen; and so did *Margaret Queen of Scotland*, and gaid vagabond a long While disguised, for Fear of the *Douglasses*.

THEN the *Douglasses* had the King to *Fife*, and past their Time a While in *St. Andrews*; but they could not find the Bishop, for he was keeping Sheep in *Bogriannow*, with Shepherd's Clothes upon him, like as he had been a Shepherd himself. By this Way he escaped their Fury a While: But *George Douglas* was very wise, and knew the Bishop of *St. Andrews* to be a great Man, and had many Casualties of Tacks and Tithes to be gotten at his Hand: Therefore, within a little While, he agreed the said Bishop and his Brother, for certain Tithes and Tacks that the Bishop gave him, with other Commodities that he got at the Bishop's

Bishop's Hand, which needs not to be rehearsed at this Time: But always he was restored to the Court and their Favours again; and so was the Queen's Grace a little thereafter, that no Man pursued her, but luit her take her own Pleasure, because she was the King's Mother.

At this Time the *Douglasses* pat fore at the Lord *Lindesay*, and thought to have forefaulted him: But he gave largely of his Lands to the Courtiers, to escape that Envy for the present Time, thinking that Court would not last long. Further, Bishop *James Beaton* called the *Douglasses* and the King to the Pasch in *St. Andrews*, and there made them great Chear and Merrinefs, and gave them great Gifts of Gold and Silver, with fair Hackneys, and other Gifts of Tacks and Steedings that they would desire of him, that he might pacify their Wraths therewith, and obtain their Favours. So the King tarried there a While quiet, and used Hawking and Hunting upon the Water of *Edin*; till, at the last, the Earl of *Angus* wearied in *Fife*; and therefore he asked Leave of the King to pass to *Lothian* to see his Business; and left with the King *Archibald* his Father's Brother, and *George* his own Brother, and *James Douglas* of *Parkhead*, who was Captain to a Guard of Men that was about the King. But, within two Days, *Archibald Douglas* Treasurer asked Leave of the King to pass to *Dundee*, and do his Business there for one Day or two, (Some say he had a Gentlewoman there whom he rode to visit) and, in like Manner, *George Douglas* rode East to *St. Andrews* to the Bishop, to get his Tack performed and ended at his Hands, as he had promised him before; and left with the King's Grace *James Douglas* of *Parkhead*, with a hundred Gentlemen with him, to wait upon the King wherever he pass. But when *George Douglas* came to *St. Andrews*, and remained there meikle of the Day in dressing of his Business, in the mean Time the King pass to the Park of *Falkland*, there to have hounded a Deer, and thought in his own Mind, the Time was convenient for him to make himself free at Liberty, considering the Earl, and *George* and *Archibald* were all absent at that Time out of his Company: Therefore he unbethought him of a crafty Mean, to jeopard himself in this Manner, as after follows: That is to say, He called upon the Laird of *Fairny*, who was Foster of the same Wood, and Chamberlain of *Fife* at that Time, and caused him to gar warn all the whole Tenants of the King's Lands, and Gentlemen thereabout that had speediest Dogs, that they would come to *Falkland-Wood* on the Morn, to meet him at seven Hours; for he was determinate that he would slay a fat Buck or two for his Pleasure; and, to that Effect, gart warn the Cooks and Stewards to make his Supper ready, that he might go to his Bed the sooner, and have his Disjoin ready by four Hours; and commanded *James Douglas* of *Parkhead* to pass the sooner to his Bed, and caused to bring his Collation, and drank to *James Douglas*, saying to him, That he should have good Hunting the Morn; and bade him be timeous; and syne the King went to his Bed. Then *James Douglas*, seeing the King in his Bed, wint that all had been sicker enough, and pass in like Manner to his Bed.

W H E N

WHEN the Watch was set, and all Things in Quietness, the King called on a Yeoman of the Stable, and desired one of his Abuilziements, Hose, Cloke, Coat and Bonnet, and put upon him, and slipt forth as a Yeoman of the Stable; and was unperceived of the Watches till he had past to the Stable, and caused saddle a Horse for himself, and one led, and took two Servants with him, *to wit, Fockie Hart* a Yeoman of the Stable, with another secret Chamber-Boy, and lap on Horse, and spurred hastily his Journey to *Stirling*, and wan there by the Breaking of Day over the Bridge, and syne gart steik it behind him, that no Man should win that Passage but Licence. Syne past to the Castle, and was received there by the Captain, who was very glad of his Coming, and prepared the Castle with all needful Things for his Coming. Syne gart steik the Gates, and drew down the Portcullies, and put the King in his Bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that Night.

WE will let him sleep in his Bed, and return to *George Douglas*, who came to *Falkland* at eleven Hours at Even, who required at the Porters what the King was doing. They answered and said, *That the King was sleeping in his Bed in the secret Chamber*; and so said the Watch-Men of the Guard that watched him; and *George*, hearing this, past to his Chamber to his Bed; till, on the Morn, that the Sun was up. Syne came the Bailie of *Abernethy*, to wit, *Peter Carmichael*, and knocked at *George's* Chamber-Door, and wakened him, and speired where the King was. *George* answered and said, *He is in his Chamber sleeping*. The Bailie said, *No, he is past the Bridge of Stirling*. Then *George* got up hastily, and put on his Clothes, and went to the Guard, and to the Porters, and speired for the King. They answered and said, *He was in his Chamber in his Bed*. Then *George* went to his Chamber and knocked; but none would answer him; for the Door was locked, which he dang up, and found no Man therein. Then he cried, *Fy, Treason, the King was gone, they knew not where*. Some said, he was past to *Bambrigh* to a Gentlewoman. Another said, he was ridden to *Stirling*. Then *George* lap on Horse to ride to *Bambrigh*: But, within two Miles, he met the Earl of *Rothies*, and shew him that the King was not there.

THEN they past to *Falkland* again, and took Consultation what was best to be done; and sent a hasty Post to the Earl of *Angus*, to advertise and shew him the Matter, and how it stood. By this *Archibald Douglas* came out of *Dundee*; and then they foregathered all together, *viz.* The Earl, *George* and *Archibald*, and rode all together to *Stirling* to the King. But, when the King got Word of their Coming, he sent a Herald of Arms to the Market-Cross, and there, by Sound of Trumpet, commanded the Earl of *Angus*, *George Douglas*, *Archibald Douglas* Treasurer, with all the rest of their Kin, Friends and Allies, that none of them should come near the King, within the Space of six Miles, under the Pain of Treason.

THIS Proclamation being made, the Earl of *Angus* and his Friends, getting Advertifement thereof, laid their Heads together, and consulted what was best to be done concerning that Proclamation. Some said, it

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was best to pass forward: But the Earl and George concluded, That they would obey the King, and his Proclamations; and returned again and pass backward to *Lithgow*, and remained a Day or two, till they got Word from the King, who was, at that Time, right busy sending for his Lords to have their Counsel: *To wit*, He sent for the Earl of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Arbole*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Earls of *Menteith* and *Rothies*, the Lord *Graham*, the Lord *Livingston*, the Lord *Lindesay*, the Lord *Sinclair*, the Lord *Rutbren*, the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord *Arvendale*, the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lord *Semple*, the Earl of *Eglintoun*, with Bishop *James Beaton*; and convened the said Lords at *Stirling* to a Council, the second Day of *July*, in the Year One thousand five hundred and twenty seven Years. And there the King shew to them his Mind with great Lamentations: Shewing to them, how he was holden in Subjection, thir Years bygone, by the Earl of *Angus* and his Kin and Friends, who oppressed the whole Country, and spoiled it under the Pretence of Justice and his Authority; and had slain many of his Lieges, Kinsmen and Friends, because they would have had it mended at their Hands, and put him at Liberty, as he ought to have been, at the Counsel of his whole Lords, and not have been subjected or corrected with no particular Men, by the rest of his Nobles: *Therefore* (said he) *I desire, my Lords, that I may be satisfied of the said Earl, his Kin and Friends: For I avow, that Scotland shall not hold us both, while I be revenged on him and his.*

THE Lords, hearing the King's Complaint and Lamentation, and also the great Rage, Fury and Malice that he bore toward the Earl of *Angus*, his Kin and Friends, they concluded all, and thought it best, That he should be summoned to underly the Law; if he fand not Caution to enter, nor yet compear himself, that he should be put to the Horn, with all his Kin and Friends, so many as were contained in the Letters. And further, the Lords ordained, by Advice of his Majesty, that his Brother and Friends should be summoned to find Caution to underly the Law within a certain Day, or else to be put to the Horn. But the Earl compeared not, nor none for him; and so was put to the Horn, with all his Kin and Friends: So many as were contained in the Summons, that compeared not, were banished, and holden Traitors to the King.

So we may see, that all Courts on Earth are not constant, but changeable; and no Court constant but the Court of Heaven, wherein is no Variance. For this Man, the Earl of *Angus*, having the King and Court at his Pleasure, thought he could never be separated from his Grace, by no Means, Power nor Ingyne; yet, when he was standing in his highest Degree, and thinking himself in Tranquillity with his Prince, dreading no Trouble or Cumber to come hereafter; because he had debated so many Troubles before in his Defence, and had foughten so cruelly before, and made such Slaughter to defend his own Right and Authority with the King, in Times bygone; thinking then there was no Man to pursue him. (For he had win the Upper-Hand upon all them that intended to set him off from the Court, or Guiding) But when the mighty God,

God, that hath Power above all earthly Men, seeing the proppit Time of this Man's Felicity in Court, that it was near spent, caused the Court change, by the Expectation of Man, without Cause offered to the King, to cause banish and forefault this Man, as I have shewn to you : Therefore let every Man, that desires to be had in Court with the King or Queen, to reign in Authority above his Neighbours, take Example of this Man, in the hasty Change that came of him, by any Man's Expectation : Therefore, I say, let Courtiers first serve God, and syne their Prince ; and do to their Neighbours and Brether as they would be done withal ; and then they shall obtain Favour and Mercy, and come to his Court which reigns in Glory and Felicity, World without End. *Amen.*

NOW we will return to our History. The Earl of *Angus*, his Kin and Friends, being at the Horn, in this Manner as we have shown of, the King gart make Proclamations through all his Realm, to all and sundry his Lieges, with Certification, who received this Earl or his Friends, whatsoever they were, they should be holden as Traitors to the Crown, and Partakers of that Crime that the said Earl and his Friends were convicted of.

FURTHER, the King made Proclamations to *Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale*, to compear at *Edinburgh* the tenth Day of *December*, in the Year One thousand five hundred and twenty seven Years, with forty Days Viſual, to pass with him to *Tantalloun* to siege the same : And, to that Effect, gart send to the Castle of *Dumbar* to Captain *Morice*, to borrow some Artillery, and laid great Pledges for the same, because the Castle was then in the Duke of *Albany's* Hand, and the Artillery thereof his own : But it was ever at the King's Pleasure, when he had ought ado, and that by the Command of the said Duke of *Albany* : But yet, for restoring and delivering of the same, and observing of a good Order, caused three Lords to pass in Pledge for the said Artillery, till it were delivered again, and received the same, in Manner as after follows : *That is to say*, Two great Canons thrown-mouthed, Mow and her Marrow, with two great Botcards, and two Moyans, two Double-Falcons, and four Quarter-Falcons, with their Powder and Bullets, and Gunners for to use them conform to the King's Pleasure. Syne pass forward to *Tantalloun*, and sieged the same the Space of twenty Days ; but they came no Speed : Whether the Castle was so strong, or the Gunners corrupted by the Earl of *Angus's* Moyen, I cannot tell. But the King left it, and was constrained to depart Home to *Edinburgh*, without any Success of Victory, or any Hope of Winning the said Castle ; and had both many Men and Horse slain at the Pursuit of the said Castle ; and, at his Returning, had a noble Captain of War slain, called *David Falconer*, who was murdered cruelly by the Hands of *Archibald Douglas*, umquhile Treasurer, and Father-Brother to the said Earl ; at whose Slaughter the King was heavily displeased, and lamented the same greatly, casting all his Ingyne that he might, by his Counsel, to obtain the Castle of *Tantalloun*, knowing well, if he had the Castle, there would be no Refuge to the Earl, nor his Friends, in that Country : There-

Therefore he caused sundry Lords and Gentlemen to make Moyen with the said Captain, called *Simeon Pannango*, promising to him great Gifts and Rewards, both of Lands and Geir, with the King's special Favour, and Remit of all Things bypast to the said Captain, his Brother, Friends and Servants whom he desired, except the *Douglasses*.

OF this Offers the Captain took to be advised till a certain Day, and syne promised to give the King an Answer, conform to his Majesty's Desire: And, in the mean Time, the said Captain sent to the Earl, *Archibald* and *George*, to wit what was their Minds, shewing that he was evil victualled, and wanted Artillery, Powder and Bullets; and therefore desired the said Earl and his Friends to furnish him thereof within a certain Day, or otherwise it were Force to him to render the foresaid Castle to the King, or others in his Name that pursued it.

THE Earl, hearing this Message, was nowise content thereof, because he knew well he could nowise support him, neither with Artillery, Powder nor Bullets, because he had none at that Time, nor could provide none hastily; nor yet could he furnish them with Victuals, neither by Sea nor Land, because the King had Watches on them; *that is to say*, Ships on the Sea, and Gentlemen on the Land, ever watching, that no Furnishing should come to the said Castle. The Captain waiting for an Answer of his Master the Earl, and seeing no Support to come to him by the said Earl and his Friends, appointed with the King, and rendered the said Castle to him, on this Conditions, as after follows: *That is to say*, That the King should remit the said Captain all Offences done by him to his Majesty, or otherways contrary the Commonweal; and shall give a free Remission thereof to him and his Friends and Servants; and shall grant to him all Bag and Baggage; and the King shall have the said Castle, with Artillery and Weapons used in Defence of the said Place; but all other Furnishings, as Gold, Silver, Clothing and Abuilziements and Victuals, shall be the said Captain's, to dispoise at his Pleasure.

OF this Appointment the King and the Council were very well content, and received the said Castle of *Tantallonn* from *Simeon* the Captain, and rewarded him according to the King's Promise. Shortly after the King gart garnish it with Men of War and Artillery; and put in a new Captain, to wit, *Oliver Sinclair*; and caused Makons come and ranforce the Walls, which were left waste before, as Trances and Thorrow-Passages; and made all massy Work, to the Effect, that it should be more able in Time coming, to any Enemies that would come to pursue it. Syne gart make Proclamations through all the Realm, That no Man should foster, favour nor sustain no *Douglasses* within their Bounds; and thereafter gart bring in their Rents, Mail and Duties, to the King's own Use, to the Effect that they should be poor, and have no Strength in Time coming.

THE *Douglasses* seeing this, that they, on no Ways, could obtain the King's Favour in *Scotland*, they consulted among themselves to pass to

to *England*; where they were received thankfully with King *Harry VIII.* who sustained them very honourably a long While.

THIS being done, the King hearing tell of their Absence, gart set a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, the twenty eighth Day of *March*, One thousand five hundred and twenty eight Years; and there, in Presence of the King and three Estates, the said Earl of *Angus*, his Kin and Friends, were forfeited, and their Lands annexed to the Crown. And this Forfeiture and Process led, as I have shewn you, the King past to *Stirling*, and there remained a Space, and changed many of his Officers, *that is to say*, The Treasurer, Comptroller, Secretary, Mr. Household, and many other Officers which pleased him to renew, and placed others in their Places, that he thought more expedient.

SYNE after, made a Convention at *Edinburgh*, with all his whole Lords and Barons, to consult how he might stanch all Theft and Reviving within his Realm, and cause the Commons to live in Peace, which long Time had been perturbed before, for Fault of good Guiding of an old King. To this Effect, the King made Proclamations to all Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, Landward-Men, and Freeholders, that they should compear at *Edinburgh*, with a Month's Victual, to pass with the King where he pleased, to danton the Thieves of *Teviotdale*, *Anandale*, *Liddisdale*, and other Parts of that Country: And also warned all Gentlemen that had good Dogs, to bring them, that he might hunt in the said Country, as he pleased; the which, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Atbule*, and so all the rest of the Gentlemen of the *High-Land*, did, and brought their Hounds with them in like Manner, to hunt with the King, as he pleased.

THE second Day of *June* the King past out of *Edinburgh* to the Hunting, with many of the Nobles and Gentlemen of *Scotland* with him, to the Number of twelve thousand Men; and then past to *Meggittland*, and hounded and hawked all the Country and Bounds; *that is to say*, *Crammat*, *Pappert-Law*, *St. Marylaws*, *Carlaeirick*, *Chapel*, *Ewindoores*, and *Longhope*. I heard say, he slew, in these Bounds, eighteen-score of *Harts*.

AFTER this Hunting he hanged *John Armstrong* Laird of *Kilknocky*, and his Complices, to the Number of thirty six Persons: For the which many *Scottish*-Men heavily lamented; for he was the most redoubted Chifftain that had been, for a long Time, on the Borders, either of *Scotland* or *England*. He rode ever with twenty four able Gentlemen, well horsed; yet he never molested any *Scottish*-Man. But it is said, That, from the Borders to *Newcastle*, every Man, of whatsoever Estate, paid him Tribute to be free of his Trouble. He came before the King, with his foresaid Number richly apparelled, trusting that, in respect of his free Offer of his Person, he should obtain the King's Favour. But the King, seeing him and his Men so gorgeous in their Apparel, with so many brave Men under a Tyrant's Commandment, frowardly turning him about, he bade take the Tyrant out of his Sight, saying,

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*What wants that Knave, that a King should have? But John Armstrong made great Offers to the King, That he should sustain himself with forty Gentlemen, ever ready at his Service, on their own Cost, without wronging any Scottish-Man. Secondly. That there was not a Subject in England, Duke, Earl, or Baron, but, within a certain Day, he should bring him to his Majesty, either quick or dead. At length, he seeing no Hope of Favour, said, very proudly, It is Folly to seek Grace at a graceless Face: But, (said he) had I known this, I should have lived on the Borders, in Despite of King Harry and you both; for I know King Harry would down-weigh my best Horse with Gold, to know that I were condemned to die this Day.*

THIS being done, the King returned to *Edinburgh* the twenty eighth Day of *July*, One thousand five hundred and twenty eight Years; and thereafter remained in the Castle meikle of the Winter. Syne, the next Summer, past to the *High-Land* to hunt in *Arbole*, and took with him his Mother *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland*, and an Ambassador of the Pope's, who was in *Scotland* for the Time. The Earl of *Arbole*, hearing of the King's Coming, made great Provision for him in all Things pertaining to a Prince, that he was as well served and eased, with all Things necessary to his Estate, as he had been in his own Palace of *Edinburgh*. For, I heard say, this noble Earl gart make a curious Palace to the King, to his Mother, and to the Ambassador; where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in *England*, *France*, *Italy*, or *Spain*, concerning the Time, and equivalent, for their Hunting and Pastime; which was builded in the Midst of a fair Medow, a fair Palace of green Timber, wind with green Birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four Quarters, and in every Quarter and Nuke thereof a great Round, as it had been a Block-House, which was lofted and geisted the Space of three House Height; the Floors laid with green Scharets and Spreats, Medwarts and Flowers, that no Man knew whereon he zeid, but as he had been in a Garden. Further, there were two great Rounds in ilk Side of the Gate, and a great Portculleis of Tree, falling down with the Manner of a Barrace, with a Draw-Bridge, and a great Stank of Water of sixteen Foot deep, and thirty Foot of Breadth. And also this Palace within was hung with fine Tapestry and Arrasses of Silk, and lighted with fine Glas-Windows in all Airths; that this Palace was as pleasantly decored, with all Necessaries pertaining to a Prince, as it had been his own Palace-Royal at Home. Further, this Earl gart make such Provision for the King, and his Mother, and the Ambassador, that they had all Manner of Meats, Drinks and Delicates that were to be gotten, at that Time, in all *Scotland*, either in Burgh or Land: *That is to say*, All Kind of Drink, as, Ale, Beer, Wine, both White and Claret, Malvasy, Muskadel, Hippocras and Aquavitz. Further, there was of Meats, Wheat-Bread, Main-Bread and Ginge-Bread; with Fleshes, Beef, Mutton, Lamb, Veal, Venison, Goose, Grice, Capon, Coney, Cran, Swan, Partridge, Plover, Duck, Drake, Brissel-Cock and Pawnsies, Black-Cock and Muir-Fowl, Capercaillies: And also the Stanks, that were round about the Palace, were full of all delicate Fishes, as, Salmonds, Trouts, Peaches, Pikes, Eels, and all other



other Kind of delicate Fishes that could be gotten in fresh Waters ; and all ready for the Banquet. Syne were there proper Stewards, cunning Baxters, excellent Cooks and Potingars, with Confections and Druggs for their Deferts ; and the Halls and Chambers were prepared with costly Bedding, Vessel and Napry according for a King ; so that he wanted none of his Orders more than he had been at Home in his own Palace. The King remained in this Wilderness, at the Hunting, the Space of three Days and three Nights, and his Company, as I have shown. I heard Men say, it cost the Earl of *Athole*, every Day, in Expences, a thousand Pounds.

THE Ambassador of the Pope, seeing this great Banquet and Triumph which was made in a Wilderness, where there was no Town near by twenty Miles, thought it a great Marvel, that such a Thing could be in *Scotland*, considering that it was named, *The Arse of the World*, by other Countries ; and that there should be such Honesty and Policy in it, and specially in the *High-Land*, where there was but Wood and Wilderness. But, most of all, this Ambassador marvelled to see, when the King departed, and all his Men took their Leave, the *Highland-Men* set all this fair Place in a Fire, that the King and the Ambassador might see it. Then the Ambassador said to the King, *I marvel, Sir, that you should thole yon fair Place to be burnt, that your Grace has been so well lodged in.* Then the King answered the Ambassador, and said, *It is the Use of our Highland-Men, though they be never so well lodged, to burn their Lodging when they depart.*

THIS being done, the King returned to *Dunkel* that Night ; and, on the Morn, to *St. Johnston*. I heard say, the King, at that Time, in the Bounds of *Athole* and *Strathern*, slew thirtyscore of Hart and Hynd, with other small Beasts, as, Roe and Roebuck, Wolf and Fox, and Wild-Cats. Then the King, within a Day or two, came to *Dundee*, where he was honourably received, and well entertained by the Conftable, and the honest Burgesses thereof, and remained there three Days ; and syne passed to *St. Andrews*, and his Mother with him, and the Ambassador ; and there remained till the *Michaelmas*, and was well entertained by Bishop *James Beaton*, and Prior *Patrick Hepburn*. Syne past to *Stirling*, and remained there the most Part of the Winter. Syne, the next Spring of the Year, came to *Edinburgh*, and founded a fair Palace in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*, and a great Tower to himself to rest into, when he pleased to come. Further, he sent to *Flanders* and brought Home Artillery and Harness, with Powder and Bullets, with Picks, and all other Kind of Munition, and garnished his Castles therewith, viz. *Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbar, Dumbartoun* and *Blackness*. Further, he translated the Palace of *Lithgow*, and bigged a pretty Palace in the Castle of *Stirling*.

IN this Year there came an Ambassador out of *England*, named Lord *William Howard*, with a Bishop with him, with many other Gentlemen, to the Number of threescore Horse, which were all able Men, and waled Men for all Kind of Games and Pastime, Shooting, Louping, Running,

Running, Wrestling, and Casting of the Stone: But they were well sayed ere they past out of *Scotland*, and that by their own Provocation; but ever they tint: Till, at last, the Queen of *Scotland*, the King's Mother, favoured the *English-Men*, because she was the King of *England's* Sister; and therefore she took an Enterprize of Archery upon the *English-Mens* Hands, contrary her Son the King, and any fix in *Scotland* that that he would wale, either Gentlemen or Yeomen, that the *English-Men* should shoot against them, either at Pricks, Revers, or Buts, as the *Scots* pleased.

THE King, hearing this of his Mother, was content; and gart her pawn a hundred Crowns, and a Tun of Wine upon the *English-Mens* Hands; and he incontinent laid down as much for the *Scottish-Men*. The Field and Ground was chosen in *St. Andrews*, and three landed Men and three Yeomen chosen to shoot against the *English-Men*, to wit, *David Weemyss* of that Ilk, *David Arnot* of that Ilk, and Mr. *John Wedderburn* Vicar of *Dundee*; the Yeomen, *John Thomson* in *Leith*, *Steven Taburner*, with a Piper called *Alexander Bailie*. They shot very near, and warred the *English-Men* of the Enterprize, and wan the hundred Crowns and the Tun of Wine; which made the King very merry, that his Men wan the Victory.

THIS *English* Ambassador got Prefence in *St. Andrews*, and there he shew his Commission from the King of *England* unto the King of *Scotland*; and promised to him, if he would come to *England*, and speak with him, he should make him Duke of *York*, and Governor and Protector of *England*, and put his young Son in his Hands in keeping, induring his Minority. The King was very well content of his Desire, and promised to Lord *William*, that he should come when he saw Time convenient, and his Realm established and put to Order, he should not fail to come to his Uncle the King of *England*, to meet him in what Place he pleased.

THIS being done, the Ambassador past Home to *England*, with the King's Answer to their King, who was well content, and very glad, believing the King of *Scotland's* Promise: But, nevertheless, the wicked Bishops of *Scotland* would not thole the King to pass, but caused him send an Ambassador to excuse him, that he might not come at that Time; because, in the *North* Parts of his Realm, there was great Slaughter, and he might not come till he had punished the same: For the Bishops conceived in their Minds, That, if King *Harry* met with our King, that he would cause him to cast down the Abbays of *Scotland*, like as he had done in *England*: Therefore they budded the King to bide at Home, and gave him three thousand Pounds by Year to sustain his House, of their Benefices.

BUT, in the mean Time, there rose great Trouble and Hership in the Borders, that the King, of Force, behoved to send his Brother, the Earl of *Murray*, to the Borders, and made him Lieutenant-General; and divided the whole Realm of *Scotland* in four Parts, and caused every one  
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of them to keep their Quarters, which continued the Space of a Year ; which was called by the common People, *The Quarter-Roads*. Yet the King was constrained to send an Ambassador to *England*, named the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and with him three ancient Knights, to wit, Sir *David Weemyss* of that Ilk, Sir *David Barclay* of *Cullernay*, and Sir *Alexander Stuart* of *Garleis*. Thir Ambassadors foresaid past with the King's Commission, and a secret Writing written with the King's own Hand, and sealed on the Back thereon, that no Man should open the said Writing till it was presented to the King of *England* ; giving the Bishop strict Command, that he should keep the same secret, and not reveal it to no other but to himself alone, and send him Answer thereupon written with his own Hand, that neither the Council nor Secretaries, nor no others should know the Secrets betwixt them, but themselves allenarly.

THE Ambassadors past to *England* at the King's Commands, and were well received by King *Hary* at *London*, where they presented their Commission in the King of *Scotland's* Name, together with the secret Writing, in King *Hary's* own Hand, desiring him to keep the same quiet and secret, that no Man should see it, but himself allenarly, and to send the King of *Scotland* his Answer again thereupon, written with his own Hand, like as he had done to him. Of the which the King of *England* was very glad, and promised that no Man should see the said Writing.

THIS being done, the Ambassadors past to their Lodging, and made merry ; till, on the Morn, they were sent for like other Ambassadors that were there before. The Bishop being set in the Council conform to his Estate, seeing the Board all full of Writings, and Letters of sundry Ambassadors of other Countries, every one for their own Affairs, as they had ado ; but, in special, he saw the King's secret Writing lying patent and open to all the whole Council to read. The Bishop was angry, and thought the King had not done his Duty to his Master the King of *Scotland*, in putting of the Writing before all the whole Council, considering the King's Promise : For this Cause the Bishop start from the Board, and took the King of *England* by the Hand, and led him to the Window, and said to him, Sir, if it will please your Majesty, if I might say, with your Licence, you have failed to our Master the King of *Scotland*. The King answereth the Bishop, God forbid that I do so, to fail my Sister's Son. By the Mass, ere I fail to him, I rather put the Crown of *England* in Jeopardy against any Man that would prieve the same : But if you gar me not understand, wherein I have failed to him, you shall be the Author of the same Failure yourself. The Bishop answered, Sir, with your Pardon, you promised, that the secret Writing that I presented to your Majesty, from his Majesty my Master, that no Man should see it but your own self ; and now, Sir, it is here present, and patent before the Council, that all Men may read it that please. The King answered, By the Mass, my Lord Bishop, you are all deceived ; for no Man hath seen it but my own Body ; for there is no Man yonder but my own Body in them, and they in me ; for there is none yonder that dare renounce any Thing, under the Pain of Hanging, Quartering  
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and Drawing, and Forfaulting of their Lands; and if your King use any other privy Means, but by his Highness and wise Council, in the Government of his Realm, and his own Body, he will not reign long, nor have his Realm in Peace and Rest: Therefore shew him, that neither I, nor he, nor no other King, may be ruled, but by our Council, to do any Good, or to govern our Realm in Peace and Rest, for maintaining of our Commonweal, and preserving of our own Bodies.

By this the King had ended his Speech, he sat down and the Bishop to the Council, where all Matters were drest, and a good Answer given to the Bishop concerning his Commission; but it was not hastily delivered at that Time, but he remained in *England* the Space of a Quarter of a Year. And after the Bishop had come Home, he shew the King the Manner, how he had sped in his Commission; and King *Harry's* Behaviour touching my Lord of *Angus* and the *Douglasses*; and saw the King of *England* was so given to entertain them, the King took a great Suspicion of them, and of their Favourers that were in *Scotland* for the Time, and specially of *Drumlanerick*, and other of the Surname of *Douglas*.

THE Lady *Glames*, at that Time, was accused for Crimes of Lese-Majesty, and convicted, and burnt upon the *Castle-Hill* of *Edinburgh*. And, at that Time, the Master of *Forbes* was convicted for the same Treason, and justified; who confessed, when he died, he was innocent of the Crime which was laid to his Charge; but he knew well it was the innocent Slaughter of the Laird of *Meldrum* that caused him to die the Death, and not for Treason against the King.

AFTER this, there was a singular Combat betwixt the Laird of *Drumlanerick* and the Laird of *Hempfield*, who provoked others in Barrace to fight to Death, for certain Points of Treason which were rehearsed betwixt them. But when the Day was set, and they appeared at *Edinburgh* in Barrace, but unarmed at all Parts, *Drumlanerick* being something land-blind and saw not well, strake so furiously and so hot at his Marrow, while he knew not whether he hit him or not; in the mean Time the Laird of *Hempfield's* Sword brake betwixt his Hands; and then the King gart cry to the Heralds and Men of Arms to red them; and so they were stanced and fought no more. And likewise there were many *Southland*-Men that appelled other in Barrace to fight before the King to the Dead, for certain Crimes of Lese-Majesty.

FURTHER, this Year there were certain godly Men, who professed the Evangel of *Christ*, that were called and accused before the Bishops and Kirk-Men, and were condemned and burnt by the King's Commission at *Edinburgh*, One thousand five hundred and thirty Years. The Names of them, to wit, The Vicar of *Dolour*, Mr. *Norman Galloway*, *David Straiton* Brother to the Laird of *Lauristoun*.

THE Accusation of the Vicar of *Dolour*, and the Articles thereof; that is to say, The Accuser, Mr. *John Lawder*, saying in this Manner,  
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*Falſe Heretick, thou ſayſt it is not leiſome to Kirk-Men to take their Tithes, Offerings and Croſs-Puts, though we have been in Uſe of the ſame, conſtitute and ordained by the Kirk, our Kings, and our holy Fathers, the Popes, have confirmed the ſame. The Vicar answered and ſaid, Brother, I ſaid not ſo. I ſaid it is not leiſome to Kirk-Men to ſpend the Teinds and the Patrimony of the Kirk, as they do, on Harlots and Whores, and delicate Clothings, riotous Banquetting, and wanton Playing at Cards and Dice; and the Kirk riven and the Pulpit down, and the People not inſtructed in God's Word, nor the Sacraments duly miniſtrate to them, as the Scripture of Chriſt commands. The Accuſer answered, Denieſt thou that Thing, that is openly known in the Country, That thou gaveſt again to the Pariſhoners, the Cow and the upmoſt Cloath, ſaying, Thou haſt no Reaſon unto them? The Vicar answered, I gave them again to them that had more Miſter than I of them had. The Accuſer answered, What ſayſt thou, that thou learnedſt thy Pariſhoners to pray unto God, the Pater Noſter in Engliſh; and alſo teach-eſt them the Belief and ten Commands in Engliſh, which is contrary to our Acts? Shall the common People know any Part or Point of the Scripture of God in Engliſh, or any Part of the Scripture be read in Engliſh, or any Books thereupon be uſed in Engliſh? The Vicar answered and ſaid, Brother, my Pariſhoners and Congregation were ſo rude and barbarous, that they underſtood no Latin, that it was Force to me, on my Conſcience, to teach them and learn them the Words of their Salvation in Engliſh, that is to ſay, The ten Commands, which is the Law of God, whereby they might know their Sins, and repent, and forbear the ſame in Time coming; and alſo the Belief, whereby they might know their Faith into God, and Jeſus Chriſt his Son his Death and Reſurrection, and everlaſting Life through him. Further, I taught them the Dominical Oration, which we call The Lord's Prayer, in their own Mother Tongue; to the Effect, that they might know and underſtand whom to they prayed, and in whoſe Name, what they ſhould ask or deſire in their Prayer, and what Hope they ſhould have in obtaining the ſame. Then the Accuſer answered, Why diſt thou by our Acts and Conſtitutions, and the Order and Commandment of our holy Father the Pope, and all the Catholick Church? The Vicar answered, Verily, Brother, I follow the Order and Commandment of our Maſter and Sovereign Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtle Paul, who ſhews, in his Doctrine unto the Corinthians, in the fourteenth Chapter, ſaying, I had rather ſpeak two Words to the Underſtanding and Edification of the People, than ten thouſand Words in a Language which they underſtand not, nor is not edified therewith. The Accuſer answered, Heretick, where findſt thou that? The Vicar answered, My Brother, in my Book which is here in my Sleeve. The Accuſer ſtart to him, and pulled the Book out of his Sleeve, and held it up, and ſhew it to the People, ſaying, See the Heretick, he hath the Book hid in his Sleeve; lo, it is here, which is Hereſy, and makes all this Plea and Cumber in the Holy Kirk, and among the Prelates thereof. The Vicar answered, Brother, you could ſay better if you pleaſed; but God forgive you, that calls the true Scripture of God to be the Book of Hereſy. And with this turned him to the People, and ſaid unto them, My dear Brethren and hearty Friends, believe*

*believe not this wicked Man, that calls this Book Heresy; for I assure you, there is nothing in this Book, but the Latter-Will and Testament of our Saviour Christ Jesus, written by his four Evangelists, to our Learning and Instruction for our Salvation in Christ.* The Accuser answered, *Heretick, thou cannot deny but the New Testament in English is contrary to our Acts, and forbidden by the Pope, and is enough to burn thee, Thief.* Then the Council of the Clergy gave Sentence on him to be burnt for using of the same Book, the *New Testament in English.* And likewise they condemned *David Straiton*, because he would not abjure and burn his Faggot; which the King desired him gently for to do, and procured for his Life at the Bishops Hands, who were content to give him the same, if he would burn his Faggot; which he would not consent to; and therefore they burnt him. I know no Cause wherefore, but he discorded with his Parson for not Payment of his Teinds. And likewise *Mr. Norman Galloway* was condemned and burnt. I know no Cause wherefore, but because he was in the *East Land*, and came Home, and married a Wife, contrary to the Form of the Pope's Institution, because he was a Priest; for they would thole no Priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the Dead; but if he had used then ten thousand Whores, he had not been burnt.

THIS being done, the King past to the Isles, and there held Justice Courts, and punished both Thief and Traitor according to their Demerit. And also he caused great Men to shew their Holdings, where-through he found many of the said Lands in Non-Entry; the which he confiscate and brought Home to his own Use, and afterward annexed them to the Crown, as ye shall hear. Syne brought many of the great Men of the Isles captive with him, such as, *Mudyart, M'Connel, M'Loyd of The Lewis, M'Niel, M'Lane, M'Intosh, John Mudyart, M'Kay, M'Kenzie*, with many others that I cannot rehearse at this Time. Some of them he put in Ward, and some bade in Court, and some he took Pledges for good Rule in Time coming. So he brought the Isles, both *North* and *South*, in good Rule and Peace; wherefore he had great Profit, Service and Obedience of People a long Time thereafter; and as long as he had the Heads of the Country in Subjection, they lived in great Peace and Rest, and there was great Riches and Policy by the King's Justice.

THE King seeing he danton'd the *North-Country* and the Isles, and therethrough he fand he had great Peace and Rest, and there was great Riches and Policy, by the Taking of the Headsmen of the Country, and putting of them in Ward; and so conquest great Love of the Commons, because of the Peace and Rest in his Time. And the King rejoiced when he had brought the wild *Highlands* and the Isles to this Stability and Perfection, and set himself, by all Means, to establish the like Peace in the Borders, like as he had done before in the Isles: And, to that Effect, charged certain great Men in the *South-Borders* foresaid, to enter in Ward in the Castles of *Edinburgh, Blackness* and *Dumbarton*, there to remain during his Pleasure, to wit, The Laird of *Bucleugh* was warded in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; the Laird of *Johnstoun* and

and *Mark Ker* warded in *Dundee*, with many other Gentlemen of the Borders, because he knew well they were the Breakers of Peace ; and nothing was done by the Commons by their Advice and Command, wherethrough there was great Reiff and Herfhip in the Country by thir faid Headfmen : But, from Time that thir were taken, and put in Captivity, as I have shewn, thereafter there was great Peace and Rest a long Time ; wherethrough the King had great Profit ; for he had ten thousand Sheep going in the *Ettrick* Forest in keeping by *Andrew Bell*, who made the King as good Count of them, as they had gone in the Bounds of *Fife*.

IN this mean Time, there were certain Lords and Gentlemen banished out of the Country for certain Crimes of Lese-Majesty, viz. The Earl of *Bothwell*, the Master of *Semple*, the Laird of *Drumlanerick*, with diverse others.

NOT long after this, the King seeing the Realm standing in such Peace and Tranquillity, rejoyced at the same, thinking daily that all Things should increafe more and more : To that Effect gart send to *Denmark*, and bring home great Horse and Mares, and put them in Parks, that, of their Offspring, might be gotten to susttain Wars in Time of Need. And also he sent to *Flanders* and *France*, and brought home Artillery, Powder and Bullets, with Pikes and Harness, and other Ordinance for War. And also plenished the Country with all Kind of Craftsmen out of other Countries, as, *French-Men*, *Spaniards*, *Dutch-Men* and *English-Men*, which were all cunning Craftsmen, every Man for his own Hand. Some were Gunners, Wrights, Carvers, Painters, Masons, Smiths, Harness-Makers, Tapefters, Broudfsters, Taylors, cunning Chirurgeners, Apothecaries, with all other Kind of Craftsmen that might bring his Realm in Policy, and his Craftsmen apparel his Palaces in all Manner of Operation and Neccessaries, according to their Order, and gave them large Wages and Pensions yearly.

THIS being done, the King sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor for Marriage, viz. Sir *John Campbel* of *Loudoun*, Knight, Sir *David Lindefay* of *The Mont*, Lyon-Herauld, who were well received by the Emperor, and well entertained, and greatly rewarded for the King of *Scotland's* Sake ; where was presented to them two fair Gentlewomen, which were the Emperor's Sister's Daughters, which were fair and pleasant in Beauty, and seemly in their Behaviour : For the which Cause the Ambassadors brought home their Pictures to the King, and presented them to him : How he was content therewith, I cannot tell, but the Marriage proceeded no further. But the King thereafter sent to *France* other Ambassadors for the Duke of *Vendome*, viz. The Laird of *Erskine*, the Cardinal *Beaton*, and Sir *David Lindefay* of *The Mont*, who were well received and entertained in *France* by the Duke of *Vendome* and his Dutcheffs, and also by his Daughters, and granted all Things to them, that they desired in the King of *Scotland's* Name, concerning his Marriage ; but yet they had no Commiffion to end, till the King saw the Gentlewoman himself : And therefore, soon after, the King seeing his Realm in good Rest, he dressed himself hastily to *France*, and failed there

there within three Days and three Nights, till he was within a Day's Journey to *France*: But how it happened I cannot tell, but he hastily returned back again to *Scotland*. Some say there were Lords and Gentlemen in his Company, that desired not to pass to *France*, but to marry with such as they favoured in *Scotland*; when the King was sleeping, they caused the Shipper to change his Course, and come homeward again to *Scotland*. But when the King awaked out of his Sleep, and knew that his Course was changed where he was bound, he was offended at them all that gave him Counsel thereunto; but specially to the Shipper who changed his Course, and returned again by his Command; and, had it not been the more Solistation and Moyer that was made for him, the King had gart hang him incontinent; but, because he had Pity and Compassion on his Wife and Bairns, he gave him Grace at that Time, but he came never in his Favour again, nor none of them that caused him, or gave him Counsel, to turn Sail.

THE King, seeing there was no Remedy but to return to *Scotland* again, he gart land him at the nearest Port of the *West Isles*, and syne came to the Isle of *Bute*, his own Castle, where he remained till he got Horse and Men to convoy him home to the Castle of *Stirling*; where he remained for a certain Space, till his Ship came about to the Frith, and remained in the Road of *Leith* till he was provided to pass forward to *France*. For the which Cause he assembled his Council, shewing to them, how he was frustrated and put back again, as said is, by evil advised Persons, which, at that Time, he would not expreme; but he vowed, if he had Live-Days, he should recompence them, who were the Hinderers of his Journey, according to their Labours. Notwithstanding, he gart incontinent provide Ships, Men, Victuals and Artillery, and the best Shippers and Mariners that could be gotten upon the Coast of *Scotland*, to pass in the said Ships with him again to *France*, and caused many of the Nobility of *Scotland* to make them ready to pass with him within a certain Day, viz. The Earl of *Arran*, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Errol*, the Earl of *Atbole*, the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord *Livingston*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Saltoun*, the Earl of *Cassilis*, the Earl of *Marshall*, the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Rothies*, the Master of *Erskine*, for the Lord, his Father, was there before in Ambassadry, and the Cardinal: Also there were many Barons and Gentlemen to pass with the King at this Time. And when the King had prepared himself and his Ships, he past to *Pittenweem*, and there embarked himself and his Nobles, and past forward to *France*, where he arrived at the *Newhaven* beside *Deep*.

AS SOON as the *French*-Men saw the King of *Scotland* and his Navy approaching near the Land, they believed they had been Strangers or Unfriends, which caused them to be affeared, because there were many other Strangers in his Company, whereby he seemed to be a greater Army, which made them all to be agast in the *Newhaven*: But from Time they saw the *Red-Lyon* of *Scotland*, they knew well it was the King; then they rejoyced at his Coming, when they heard Word and knew surely it was the King: Therefore the Word ran through the Country,



Country, that the King of *Scotland* was landed at the *Newhaven*, with a great Army. The which Novels came hastily to the Emperor's Camp, where it was lying for the Time, to the Number of fourscore thousand fighting Men against the King of *France*, whose Lieutenant was lying forenent him in Camp of Battle, in like Manner, to the Number of threescore thousand Men, who were daily skirmishing together; till, at the last, the Novels came to the Emperor, that the King of *Scotland* was landed at the *Newhaven*, beside *Deep*, with a great Army, to the Number of twenty thousand Men, and to support the King of *France* contrary the Emperor. The Emperor, hearing thir Novels, took such Fear of the King of *Scotland*, that he took up his Camp and departed forth of that Bounds, home to his own Country.

THIS being done, the King of *Scotland* landed himself and his Nobles, and thereafter took Post to *Paris*, where he remained short While, till he past to the Duke of *Vendome* to his Place, where he was for the Time. But the King of *Scotland* would not shew himself openly at that Time, but disguised himself as he had been a Servant, thinking he should not be known, neither to the Duke, nor to his Wife, or the Gentlewoman who should have been his Spouse; thinking, that he should spy their Fairness and Behaviour, and he unknown of her and her Father. Yet, notwithstanding, the fair Lady took Suspicion that the King of *Scotland* should be in that Company; wherefore she past to her Coffer, and took forth his Picture, which she had gotten from *Scotland* by a secret Moyer; then she knew the King incontinent, where he stood among the rest of the Company, and past peartly to him, and took him by the Hand, and said, *Sir, you stand over far aside; therefore, if it please your Grace to talk with my Father, or me, as you think for the present, a While for your Pleasure, you may if you will.*

THE King, hearing this, was a little ashamed, that he had disguised himself to be unknown, and syne was so hastily known by the Moyer of that Gentlewoman; then he past to the Duke of *Vendome*, and took him in his Arms; and the Duke again made him due Reverence, who was greatly rejoyced at the King's Coming; and so were all the rest of the Duke's Company: And then the King past to the Dutchess, and embraced and kist her; and so did he to the Dutchess's Daughter, and to all the rest of the Ladies; and syne excused him, why he was so long unknown unto them, desiring their Pardon therefore: But he was soon forgiven and brought unto their Favour. Then there was nothing but Merriness, Banquetting, great Chear, Musick, and playing on Instruments, playing melodiously, with Galliard, Dancing in Masks, and pretty Farces and Plays, all were made unto the King of *Scotland*, and all other Pastime, as Justing and Running of great Horse, with all other Pleasure that could be devised. There was made by the Duke of *Vendome* a fair Royal Palace, with all costly Ornaments to decore the King's Honour, *viz.* The Walls thereof hung with Tapestry of Cloth of Gold and fine Silk; the Floor laid over with green Freeze; the Beds hung with Cloth of Gold; and a Peal of Gold set with precious Stones, which was hung about the King's Head when he sat at Meat, and the Halls  
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and Chambers were perfumed with sweet Odours, which were very costly, and delectable to the Sense. There was nothing left by the Duke of *Vendome*, that might be done to the King of *Scotland's* Honour: For he remained there the Space of eight Days, in great Joy and Merriness on both the Sides, and many great Tokens given and taken by the King of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Vendome's* Daughter, to wit, Chains, Rings, Tablets, with Diamonds, Rubies, with many other precious Jewels, which was to their great Comfort and Joy on both the Sides. But yet the King and his Council thought he would do nothing concerning his Marriage at that Time, till he had spoken with the King of *France*, considering that he was in his Realm; he thought he would shew him his Mind, and have his Counsel, ere he concluded any Thing further in that Matter: Therefore the King took Purpose to pass hastily to the King of *France*, where he was for the Time, to do him all Reverence that he could, for Love that was betwixt the Realms in Times bypast: Therefore the King hastily took Post, but few in Number with him, and past where the King of *France* lay, at that Time, at his Pleasure, at Hunting and Hawking, and other Pastime, such as he thought meet for him, well accompanied with the Queen his Wife, and many other lusty Ladies, with the Queen, his Daughter, and his eldest Son, with many other Lords and Barons. But when they heard tell, and saw the King of *Scotland* come in proper Person, they all greatly rejoiced, and marvelled much of the King's Coming through the Sea, taking Eventure, considering the Brokenness of the Seas, and the Enemies great on every Side. Also they marvelled of his great Diligence in taking Post and coming so hastily unto them, taking Fear of nothing for the Time. And as soon as the *Dolphin* saw the King of *Scotland*, he ran unto him, and got him into his Arms, and welcomed him heartfully, and shew him that his Father would be blyth of his Coming, considering as it stood with him at that Time: For, a little before, the Duke of *Orleans*, his eldest Son, who was *Dolphin* at that Time, was poysoned in the Chapel by an *Italian*, which made the King of *France* to be very sad: But the Coming of the King of *Scotland* gave him such Comfort, that he forgot Melancholy in Time coming. But the King of *France* was in his Chamber taking Rest, and knew not of the King of *Scotland's* hasty Coming; wherefore the King of *Scotland* and the *Dolphin* went to the King's Chamber-Door, and knocked rudely. The King enquired who it was that knocked so fast to inquiet him from his Rest. The *Dolphin* answered, *It is the King of Scotland come to see your Grace, and to give you Comfort.* He, hearing thir Words, rose from his Bed, and opened the Chamber-Door, and received the King of *Scotland* in his Arms, thanking God of his great Benefits, that had taken one Son from him lately, yet he gave him Thanks for sending the noble Prince unto him to be his Son, accepting him in Love and Favour so fervently as he had been his own natural Son gotten of his Body; and commanded the *Dolphin* his Son to wait upon him, and entertain him as his own Brother; and see that none of his Servants that came with him, but that they were treated and well entertained according to their Estate: But the King tarried no longer there, but gart sound his Trumpets, and all Men to Horse; and also gart get fresh Horse to the King of *Scotland*, because he

he came there in Post; and that Night the King came to a Palace of his own, and remained there all that Night. But yet, in this mean Time, the King of *Scotland* did his due Reverence unto the Queen of *France* and her Ladies, and in special to the Queen's Daughter *Magdalen*, who was riding in a Chariot, because she was sickly and evil-disposed; yet, notwithstanding all her Sickneſs and Malady, from Time ſhe ſaw the King of *Scotland*, and ſpake with him, ſhe loved him ſo, that ſhe would have no Man on Life to her Husband, but him allenarly; whereof the Councils of *France* and *Scotland* liked nothing; for they were certified by the Doctors, that no Succeſſion would come of her Body, by reaſon of her long Sickneſs and Malady; and that ſhe was not able to travail out of that Country to no other; and if ſhe did, ſhe would not have long Days. Yet, notwithstanding, the ardent Love that this Gentlewoman bore to the King of *Scotland*, cauſed her Father, the King of *France*, conſent unto her Marriage with the King of *Scotland*: And, to that Effect, deſired the King of *Scotland* to conſent unto it; who conſented unto it, for the Love he bore to the King of *France*; and alſo he knew there was great Profit, Friendſhip and Ally to be gotten at the King of *France*'s Hand; and ſyne, ſhe being his eldeſt Daughter, it was not good to him to reſuſe that honourable Offer of the King of *France*, to have his elder Daughter in Marriage, with what Pleaſure and Profit he deſired with her.

THEIR Motives, and other more, provoked the King of *Scotland* ſo, that he conſented unto the Marriage; which afterwards, when he came to *Paris*, was triumphantly ſolemnize with great Joy and Pleaſure, as after follows: *That is to ſay*, The King and Council of *France*, on the one Part; and the King of *Scotland* and the moſt Part of his Nobility, on the other Part; in Manner, Form and Effect, as after follows: *That is to ſay*, The King of *Scotland* ſhould marry, and take to Wife, in Preſence of God and holy Kirk, *Magdalen* the King of *France*'s eldeſt Daughter, and love her, and treat her according to her Eſtate, and give her honourable Living, and Lands in conjunct Tie: And alſo the Bond of Peace contracted with *France* ſhould be renewed again with thir two Kings, to endure and ſtand for ever, like as it was firſt contracted by their Predeceſſors afore. And further, for Cauſe of Marriage and Love that the King of *France* bore to the King of *Scotland*, he ſhould content and pay to him the Sum of a hundred thouſand *Crowns of the Sun*, together with all other neceſſary Pleaſures and Deſires that the King of *Scotland* would deſire of him hereafter.

THE King of *Scotland* ſent for many of his Lords and Barons to come to *France* to do him Honour in the Solemnizing of his Marriage; and to compear at *Paris* at the Day appointed to the ſaid Marriage in their beſt Array, for the Honour of *Scotland*, as they would do him Pleaſure and Service.

THEIR Letters being ſeen by the Lords of *Scotland*, both Spiritual and Temporal, who were well content of the ſame, and were conteht to obey the King their Maſter in all Points, as he had written, and made

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them ready for to pass to him incontinent in their best Array, conform to their Estate. The Number that past, was, six Earls, six Lords, six Bishops, twenty great Barons, who were most familiar with the King. Thir all departed out of *Scotland*, and came to *Paris* against the Day appointed of the King's Marriage, and were heartily welcomed by the King of *France*, and the Council thereof, and well entertained according to their Estates. And the King of *Scotland*, their Master, was glad of the same, seeing his Nobles so obedient to do him Honour to his Pleasure and Advancement.

THIS being done, immediately the Marriage was solemnized at *Paris*, in *Noſtre Dame's* Kirk, at ten Hours before Noon, with the King of *France* and Queen, their Daughter and Council, and all the whole Nobility, on the one Part; the King of *Scotland*, his Council and Nobility, on the other Part; which was so great a Multitude on both the Sides, which would be cumbersome and tedious to rehearse: For there was never so great Solemnity and Triumph seen in *France* in one Day, as was then, since the Time of King *Charles the Main*. For there was such Jousting and Turnament, both on Horse and Foot, in Burgh and Land, and also upon the Sea with Ships; and so much Artillery shot in all Parts in *France*, both on the Land and Sea, in Castles, Towns and Villages, that no Man might hear for the Reard thereof: And also the riotous Banquetting, delicate and costly Clothings, triumphant Plays and Feasts, with pleasant Sound of Instruments of all Kinds: And also cunning Carvers, having the Art of Necromancy, to cause Things appear which were not, as, Flying-Dragons in the Air, Shots of Fire at others Heads, great Rivers of Waters running through the Town, and Ships fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering Streams of the Sea, shooting of Guns like Cracks of Thunder: And thir Wonders were seen by the Nobility and common People. All this was made by Men of Ingynne, for outsetting of the Triumph, to do the King of *Scotland* and the Queen of *France* their Master's Pleasure.

WHEN all the Triumph was done and ended, a little While thereafter the King of *Scotland* desired to pass Home to his own Country with his Queen *Magdalen*, with the rest of his Lords and Nobility that were with him.

THE King of *France* seeing this, that the Queen of *Scotland*, his Daughter, and the King, would depart home to their own Country, he gart incontinent prepare Ships and Gallies, with Victual and Artillery, Shippers, Mariners and Captains, and Bands of Men of War to squyer the King of *Scotland* and his Queen through the Sea, that they were safely convoyed and preserved by them till they came in their own Country; and also he gart prepare two great Ships with Canons, Culverings, Moyens, Double-Falcons, with all Kinds of other Ordinance, with their Powder and Bullets, and all Manner of other Weapons ordained for War.

WHEN thir Ships were well prepared and ordained, the King of *France* presented them to the King of *Scotland*, and gave him them to use

use as he thought good, which remained long Time in *Scotland*; the one of them named *The Salamander*, the other *The Merisber*. The King of *Scotland* had two of his own at that Time; the one called *The Marivil*, the other called *The Great Lyon*, which were two lusty Ships for War. These four, with other more great Ships of *France*, were ordained to convoy the King of *Scotland* and the Queen through the Seas. This being done, the King of *France* caused his Mr. Stabler to pass to his Cuirie, where his great Horse were, and waled a Dozen of the best of them, with all Things requisite to them, and present them to the King of *Scotland*. Further, he gart his Master of Armory to pass where his Harness was, and gart choose out twenty Stands of Harness, that were double overgilt and ennamelled, and gave unto his Son the King of *Scotland*. In like Manner, when this was done, he called on his Daughter *Magdalen* the Queen of *Scotland*, and caused her to pass to his Wardrobe with her Gentlewomen and Ladies, and bade deliver unto her what she pleased, of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, Satin, Damask, Taffities, and other Silks, to make her Abuilziements as she pleased: And also commanded her to take what Hingers, or Tapestry-Work, and Peals of Gold and Silk, as she pleased, or any other Jewels that he had in his Wardrobe. Syne he gave her great Gifts of Chains, and all Kinds of precious Stones, that were or might be gotten for Gold or Silver. Such Substance was never seen in *Scotland* as this young Queen brought in it; for there was never the like in no Man's Time in *Scotland*.

ALL this being done, the King of *Scotland* took his Leave at the King of *France* and Queen, and at the whole Court and Nobility; and so did his Queen *Magdalen* and her Ladies, and all the rest of his Nobility, with great Drinking on every Side. And thus the King of *Scotland* departed out of *France*, and came to the *Newhaven* beside *Deep*, and remained a Day or two till the Wind was fair; and syne embarked in his Navy, and pulled up Sails, and landed, at the fifth Day, at the Shore of *Leith*, being the twenty eighth of *May*, with all his Navy, which was the Number of fifty Ships of *French-Men* and *Scottish-Men*, and other Strangers that convoyed the King through the Sea. And when the Queen came in *Scottish* Ground, she bowed and inclined herself to the Earth, and took the Muilts thereof and kissed; syne thanked God that he had brought her safely through the Sea with her Husband to their own Country; syne passed to the Abbay of *Holy-rood-house* to the King's Palace, there to remain till her Triumph of Entres was made, which began to provide in all Parts of *Scotland*; and specially in *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, *Dundee*, *Breichin*, *Montrose*, *Aberdeen*, *St. Johnstoun*, *Stirling*, *Glasgow*, *Air*, *Lithgow*, *St. Andrews*, and *Cowpar* of *Fife*. Thir worthy and principal Towns, that were commanded to make Provision and Triumph for the King's Coming, and his Receipt; but, nevertheless, their Joy was soon altered, and Merriness turned to Sadness and Mourning, for Displeasure of the Queen; for she departed that same Day forty Days that she landed, being the Fifth of *July*: And therefore all their great Blythness and Joy of her Coming was turned in great Mourning; and all the Play that should have been made, was all turned in Soul-Masses and Dirigies; wherethrough there zeid such Mourning through

through the Country and Lamentation, that it was great Pity for to see : And alio the King's heavy Moan, that he made for her, was greater than all the rest.

BUT we will let her rest with God, and return again to *France* to the Duke of *Vendome's* Daughter, who took such Displeasure and Melancholy for the King of *Scotland's* Marriage, that she, within short While, took Sickness and died. But when the King of *Scotland* got Wit, he was heavily displeased therewith ; and, in short While after, sent his Ambassadors to *France* for Marriage, viz. The Lord *Erskine*, and *David Beaton* Cardinal of *Scotland* and Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, being Bishop of *Meropose* in *France*, and Abbot of *Arbroth*.

THEIR Ambassadors past at the King's Command, and by the Advice of his Council and his Commission, to *France*, for Marriage of the Dutcheß of *Lorain*, who was the Duke of *Guise's* Daughter ; and there the said Ambassadors, with Advice of the King of *France* and his Council, agreed the Marriage in all Points, according to the King of *Scotland's* Pleasure ; syne sent him Word, with all Diligence, that they had ended the Matter, and appointed the Day of Marriage, as the King their Master had given Commission ; and desired to wit what was his Mind thereintill, and what should be proceeded further in the said Matter.

THE King, hearing thir Tidings, was very well content of their Expedition ; and gart provide hastily a Navy of Ships, and the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral thereof, with other Lords, great Barons and Gentlemen, to the Number of two thousand Men, by the King's own Household ; and gave the Lord *Maxwel* Commission to pass to *France* to see the Queen married ; and thereafter to receive her in his Keeping, that she remain there no longer, but come to the *Newhaven*, and there embark and ship so soon as Wind and Weather may serve. And thus the Lord *Maxwel* and his Navy and Army that passed with him sped with all Diligence, and hasted the King's Commission and Command as he had given him, and came and saw the Queen married ; and thereafter received her, and brought her to the *Newhaven* : And, so soon as Wind and Weather served, he shipped the Queen ; and syne pulled up Sails, and sailed to *Scotland* the nearest Way. But because the Cardinal had no Charge of the Queen in the Home-Coming, nor yet was tholed to come in the Ship that she was in, he was discontent, and in special at the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral, whilk gendred Displeasure afterward.

THE Queen landed in *Scotland* at the Place called *Fyfeness*, near *Balcomy*, where she remained till Horse came to her. But the King was in *St. Andrews*, with many of his Nobility, waiting upon her Home-Coming. Then he, seeing that she was landed in such a Part, he rode forth himself to meet her, with the whole Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with many Barons, Lairds and Gentlemen, who were convened for the Time at *St. Andrews* in their best Array ; and received the Queen with great Honours and Plays made to her. And first, She was received at  
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the new Abbay-Gate ; upon the *East-Side* thereof there was made to her a triumphant Arch, by Sir *David Lindesay* of *The Mont*, Lyon-Herauld, which caused a great Cloud come out of the Heavens above the Gate, and open instantly ; and there appeared a fair Lady most like an Angel, having the Keys of *Scotland* in her Hands, and delivered them to the Queen, in Sign and Token that all the Hearts of *Scotland* were open to receive her Grace ; with certain Orations and Exhortations made by the said Sir *David Lindesay* to the Queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her Husband, and keep her Body clean, according to God's Will and Commandments.

THIS being done, the Queen was received unto her Palace, which was called *The New Inns*, which was well decored against her Coming. Also the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, and Canons regular, made great Solemnity in the Kirk, with Masses, Songs, and Playing of the Organs. The King received the Queen in his Palace to Dinner, where was great Mirth all Day till Time of Supper.

ON the Morn, the Queen past through the Town, she saw the *Black-Friers*, the *Gray-Friers*, the *Old College* and the *New College*, and *St. Leonards* ; she saw the Provost of the Town and honest Burgesles : But when the Queen came to her Palace, and met with the King, she confessed unto him, she never saw in *France*, nor no other Country, so many good Faces in so little Room, as she saw that Day in *Scotland* : For she said it was shown unto her in *France*, that *Scotland* was but a barbarous Country, destitute and void of all good Commodities that used to be in other Countries ; but now she confessed she saw the contrary : For she never saw so many fair Personages of Men, Women, young Babes and Children, as she saw that Day.

AT thir Words of the Queen the King greatly rejoiced, and said to her, *Forsooth, Madam, you shall see better, please God ; ere you go through Scotland you will see many good-like Men and Women, with other Commodities that will be to your Contentment.* Then the King remained in *St. Andrews* the Space of forty Days, with great Merrinels and Game, as, Juffing, Running at the Lifts, Archery, Hunting, Hawking, with Singing and Dancing in Maskery, and Playing, and all other princely Game, according to a King and a Queen. And hereafter the King departed out of *St. Andrews* to *Corpar of Fife*, and dined there ; and syne passed to *Falkland*, and remained there a While in Hunting of the Fallow-Deer, seven or eight Days. Syne past to *Stirling*, where he was well received in the Town and Castle, with great Mirth and Pastimes for a While : And syne past to *Lithgow* to the King's Palace, and remained one Day or two there. The Queen confessed she had never seen a more princely Palace. And syne he went to *Edinburgh*, where the King and Queen were honourably received, with great Triumph, in the Castle, and in the Town, and also in the Palace ; where they were honourably propined and richly, with the Provost and Community of the Town, both with Spices and Wine, Gold and Silver ; and also great Triumphs, Farces and Plays, made unto the Queen's

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Grace on the Expences of the said Town : And so was then likewise in *Dundee* the Space of six or eight Days, very magnificently treated by the Town, where the Queen made her Entres. At the whilk Time, the Earl of *Arrol* was married with the Earl of *Lennox's* eldest Sister for the Time, by Advice of the King's Majesty, with great Solemnity of Marriage, the Archbishop of *Glasgow* and *Caithness* being present with the King. This was done upon the fifth Day of *August*, in the Year of God preceeding. And *St. Johnstoun*, every Man of them according to their Ability, received their Queen and Mistress, as it became them to do.

So it past over meikle of this Year ; till, at last, the Queen's Grace conceived and became with Child ; and hereafter, when her Time came, she was delivered, by God's Grace, of a fair Son, born at *St. Andrews* the tenth Day of the Month of \_\_\_\_\_ One thousand five hundred and thirty nine Years ; thereafter was honourably baptized with great Triumph and Merrinels, as was the Use of the Country at that Time ; and was stiled *James Stuart* Prince of *Scotland* and Duke of *Rosay*, and was nurisht and brought up in *St. Andrews* the Space of a Year thereafter ; till that his Mother, the Queen's Grace, conceived again and buir another Son at *Stirling*, in the Month of \_\_\_\_\_ in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty Years, and was named *Robert Stuart* Duke of *Albany*, and Earl of *Fife* and *Menteith*.

Nor long after this, the King set a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, on the third Day of *December*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty Years ; wherein the King ratified and approved his general Revocation, the whilk he made in *France*, when he came of perfect Age, to wit, At the Town of *Rouan*, being of the Age of twenty five Years ; and because he was then off his own Realm, and in *France* for the Time, and had not his three Estates there present with him : Therefore, as soon as he came to *Scotland*, he made his Revocation of new, and ratified that Thing that he had done ; there, by Instruments, he made it manifest in plain Parliament, and took Acts thereupon. And also he took the Bones of *Robert Lesly*, and forfaulted him for certain Crimes of Lese-Majesty. Many other good Acts and Constitutions he made in that Parliament.

In the Year following, the King took Purpose to prepare all his Castles and pleasant Places for his Pleasure, thinking that God, of his Grace, had sent him such Succession, that he needed not to care for nothing but his own Pleasure : And so he became insolent, and unmindful of God's Benefits that he had bestowed on him ; and rather regarded his own Pleasure and sensual Lust, in the Using of his own particular Affairs, forgetting God's Glory, and the Commonweal of the Country, and goodly Behaviour of his Lords and Barons, not regarding their good and honourable Counsels ; but rather took Respect unto the privy Counsels of his familiar Servants, and certain Kirk-Men, as, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Canons, Monks and Friars ; who put him in such Belief, that he might use his Body as he pleased, for they should stand good for his Soul.



Soul. So they abused this noble Prince, that they caused him understand, That all his Lords and Barons, and all other Gentlemen that used or read the Word of God in *English*, that they were plain Hereticks, and not worthy to live under a Christian King; nor to serve him; but rather to be burnt, and their Lands confiscate and brought to the King's Profit. So, with their ungodly and Papistical Counsel, they enticed and abused this noble King, and caused him to break his Promise to his Uncle the King of *England*. The which Promise he made by Advice of his great Earls, Lords and Barons, and, to ratify the same, had interchanged his great Seal with *England*, for joyning of both the said Realms in Unity and Peace in Time coming; whereof the King of *England* was very desirous, as may be seen by his honest and reasonable Offers, in his Commission given to his Ambassadors; and, to that Effect, came to *York* with great Provision, to meet the King of *Scotland*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty one Years; which Ambassadors foresaid presented their Commission to the King of *Scotland*, with hearty Commendations and princely Propines, which were presented to the King of *Scotland* by the Ambassadors, viz. Lord *William Howard*, and the Bishop of *St. Davids*, which they did right honourably deliver in the King of *England's* Name; which were heartily received by the King of *Scotland*, and that by the Counsel of his most wise and honourable Lords, who thought the King of *England's* Commission and lovely Desire to be so reasonable, that they thought it not to be denied, but rather to be granted, for Welfare of both the said Realms: For the King of *England's* Commission was nothing to derogate the King of *Scotland's* Honour, in no Part, but rather to advance him in his high Honour and Substance, according to his princely Estate: For the King of *England*, thinking that he had no Man so fit and tender as the King of *Scotland*, his Sister's Son; nor there was no living Creature that he favoured and loved so well, except his Son *Edward*, whom he thought to have putten in his Hands in Government and Keeping, because he was aged, and thought his Days would not endure long: Therefore he desired affectuously to speak with his Sister's Son the King of *Scotland*, that he might make him Duke of *York*, and Governor of *England*, and to put his Son into his Hands in Keeping, for the more Security of his Welfare, thinking the King of *Scotland* most native and kindly to support and defend his Son, if ought came to him but good: For this noble Prince, the King of *England*, had ever a Suspicion in his Mind, that, when it pleased God to take him, that some of the greatest of his Lords would put at his Son *Edward*, and trouble him in the Brooking of his Authority and Realm, as they did thereafter, which is well known to all other Countries about: Therefore this noble King sent his own Hand-Writ and Commission unto the King of *Scotland*, his Sister's Son, in this Manner as I have shewn you; and for no other Cause, but to have joyned both the said Realms in such Love and Favour, that they should ever been able to have defended against their Enemies, when Time occurred. But yet the ungodly Papistical Bishops, with the Abbots, Monks and Friars, with all the rest of the Shavelings, took such Fear and Dreadour in their Hearts, believing, if the King of *Scotland* and the King of *England* met, as their Promise was, that their Profit and Glory

and Papiſtical Kingdom ſhould go down ; becauſe the King of *England* had lately reformed and caſten down the Abbays, and all the reſt of the Idolatry, and had ſet forth God's Word to have free Paſſage through *England*, that God might be glorified, and the People edified therewith.

THEIR wicked Priests and Biſhops foreſaid taking ſuch Suſpicion in their Hearts, if the two Kings met, that it ſhould become of them as it was of *England* ; therefore caſt all the Ingyne and Labour that they might to diſſolve the ſaid Meeting, that none Effect ſhould come thereof ; ſometime by Craft and Ingyne, ſometimes by Deceit and Falſhood, offering to the King great Gifts of Gold and Silver, ſaying to him, that he ſhould not want Gold and Silver, ſo long as there was a Benefice in *Scotland* ; and, to that Effect, conſtitute and aſſigned to him, of yearly Rent of their Benefices, the Sum of thirty thouſand Pounds, to be taken up in Manner of Taxation by their Collectors, and to deliver yearly and freely to the King, to defend and maintain their Liberty and the Pope's Authority.

YET, for all this, the King was well minded to have kept his Promise to the King of *England*, and that by the Advice of his Lords ; whom when the Priests perceived counſelling the King in this Manner, they were not content therewith, and would fain been revenged on thir Lords and Gentlemen, whom they believed were Counſellers of the King to go to *England* to meet with his Uncle the King of *England*, whilk they deſired on no Ways ſhould be done ; becauſe they were ſleyed that the Thing ſhould come to paſs which is practiſed now already : And therefore deviſed a ſubtile Mean againſt the ſaid Lords and Gentlemen, to put them at Diſcord with their native Prince and King, in this Manner as after follows : *That is to ſay*, They delated by the Gray-Friers, and gave up a Bill to the King's Grace, as Hereticks, to the Number of thirty fix ſcore of Earls, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, and honeſt Burgeſſes and Craftſmen ; and their Delation every Man at his Tail, given out by the Gray-Friers unto the Biſhops, and the Biſhops delivered the ſame unto the King, ſaying to him in this Manner, *Sir, what needs your Grace to paſs to England for any Subſtance that King Hary may give you, we ſhall cauſe you to find enough at Home in your Country of Scotland, ſo that you will do Juſtice, as we ſhall deviſe, upon thir Hereticks, which we have given you in Bill, who are great Readers of the Old and New Testaments in Engliſh, with other ſundry Points of Delation which we ſhall give unto you ; for we ſhall take upon us and our Conſciences, that you may ſafely have their Lands, Heritages, Poſſeſſions, and moveable Goods, whole in your Hands by Confiſcation, for their wicked Lives, and Rebellion againſt the Kirk, and our holy Father the Pope and his Authority : Therefore, will you do us Juſtice, we ſhall put into your Hands a hundred thouſand Pounds of yearly Rent, to augment the Patrimony of your Crown in Times coming, and to ſupply you in your Wars againſt our old Enemies of England, or any other Nation that will aſſail your Grace. And we deſire no more of you, but that you will give us a temporal Judge, which we ſhall deviſe, that ſhall execute Juſtice, and put to Execution thir wicked Hereticks, as*  
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*we have shown, to your great Honour and Profit, and to the Pleasure of the Kirk, and our holy Father the Pope, who, we have no Doubt, but he will reward you right honestly and richly, for the Maintaining of his Authority.*

THE King, hearing thir Words and false Enticements of thir wicked Bishops against God and his Servants, nothing moved with the Love that he ought to God, and to his true Barons, but rather affected to Covetousness, answered the Bishops in this Manner, saying, *My Lords, I would fain that ye had Justice, that the holy Kirk might be defended and the Liberty thereof: Therefore name and choose a Judge at your own Pleasures, whom ye think will execute Justice most sharply and rigorously, for punishing of these Hereticks, and I shall command him, and give him my Power, that whomever ye delate as a Heretick, to burn him, and put him to Death at your Pleasures.*

THE Bishops and Kirk Men, hearing the King's Answer, were well contented thereat, and chused Sir *James Hamilton* the King's familiar Servant; for they knew him to be of their own Sect, and a blood-thirsty Man, having no Fear of God, but favourable to the Pope and his Religion, more than to Christ and his Servants; And therefore accepted the Office very thankfully, and was very rejoyced that he should had commanded him in that Authority, saying to his Grace, *That he did him never such a Pleasure as to make him Judge criminal to sik unhappy Hereticks; making a Vow to his Grace, That he should make them hot Arses, for his Pleasure and the Kirk; believing well and surely to get some Profit and Gains thereby. But God, of his mighty Power and Grace, stanchd his Fury and Ire, and bloody Wand contrary his Servants, which he thought to have used for Pleasure of the Priests, if God had not stopt his Fury: But the mighty God, seeing the Abusion of this King, and the Evil and Fury of his Servant Sir James Hamilton, that he being in the first Degree and Familiarity with his Prince, God turned the Matter so, that, by the Expectation of Man, he was taken and put in doleful Prison, and soon after shamefully justified, as shall hear afterwards.*

THE said Sir *James Hamilton*, Lord *Avendale*, and principal familiar Servant unto the King, then standing in his highest Degree in the Court at that Time, the King directed him, in the Month of *April*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty one Years, to pass to the Isle of *Rosay* of *Bute*, to reform his Castle and Palace thereof, that he might remain there some Times of the Year at his Pleasure, with his Court and Queen, as pleased him best; and, for this Cause, gave the said Sir *James* three thousand Crowns to sic Masons for to complete his Work into the said *Rosay* of *Bute*. And, on the Morrow hereafter, the King past out of *Edinburgh* to *Falkland*; and, as he was riding the Way, there came one to him, called *James Hamilton*, the Sheriff of *Lithgow*'s Son. The King was affeared, and asked what was the Motion, seeing that it was so soon in the Morning, and no Man moving. But the said *James* answered, *I have certain Things to shew your Grace secretly,*

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cretly, for Well of your own Life, concerning the Welfare of your own Body. The King turned about and answered the said *James*, and took a Ring off his Finger, and gave it to him, and said; *You shall pass to the Chequer-House, where you shall find the Secretary, the Master of Household, and the Treasurer, and shew them thy Mind, like as thou would shew it to me, and bid them hear thee as I were presently with them myself, and then let them do hereafter as they think good.* With this the King past forward to the Ferry to pass to *Fife*; and the said *James* past to the Chequer-House, as he was commanded, at the Hour of nine, and there he found the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Master of Household, like as the King had shewn to him; and there presented the King's Ring and Token unto them to hear his Mind, like as the King's Grace had commanded, as he had been present. The which Lords accepted the same, and desired him to shew forth his Mind, as he could best. Then the said *James Hamilton* revealed certain Points of Treason of Sir *James Hamilton* of *Drapban*, where that he was sundry Times bound to slay the King, when he might see Opportunity of Time; and yet continues still on the same Purpose.

THEIR foresaid Lords hearing this Dittay given in by the said Sir *James's* native Cousin and Friend, gave it the more Credit. When the King's Officers had consulted upon this Matter foresaid, they consented that they would take the said Sir *James Hamilton*, and put him in Captivity till they had the King's Mind hereupon; and immediately the King's Officers past, viz. The Treasurer, Secretary, and Master of Household, and took with them the Lyon-Herauld, and past to the said Sir *James Hamilton's* Lodging in *Edinburgh*, where he was lodged, and took him and put him in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, there to remain during the King's Will.

WHEN the said Sir *James* saw that he was put in the Castle, not knowing any reasonable Cause wherefore, he was heavily commoved at his Inputters; and wrote unto the King's Grace a Letter, declaring to him how he was handled, and put in Prison by the King's familiar Servants, and his own Companions, desiring the King's Grace, that he might be relieved out of Captivity to speak with his Grace. But when the King heard of his Inputting, he was not content therewith; and wrote to the Captain of the Castle to deliver him at his Pleasure; showing to him, That they should have no Thank that were his Inputters.

BUT when the Secretary, Treasurer, and Master of Household, heard thir Words, that the King was not content with the Inputting of the said Sir *James*, they were sore afraid to meddle with a great Man, and syne the King's Grace not to be contented, thinking that, some Day, the same Sir *James* would quit them a Common for their Labours, if he obtained the Kings Pardon at that Time: Therefore they past hastily to the King's Grace all three, where he was for the Time; and shew him the terrible Dittay given in upon the said Sir *James*, by his own Friend, touching the King's own Body; and shew, if he would thole the same to be unpunished, they said, That they trusted he should not be long alive.

alive. So they put the King in such a Fray and evil Will at the said Sir *James*, that he came suddenly to *Edinburgh*, and took him out of the Castle, and had him to the Tolbooth, and gave him a fore Affize of Lords and Barons; and there he was convict of sundry Points of Treason, and thereafter was headed and quartered, and his Lands annexed to the Crown. Whereof the Country marvelled meikle, that so great a Man, being in such Authority with his Prince, was suddenly deposed and put down by the Expectation of any earthly Man, thinking that it was but the divine Punishment upon the said Sir *James Hamilton*; for he was ever a Tyrant and a Bloodshedder, and a Conquerer of other Mens Heritages, whether he had Right to them, or not; at last, for Pleasure of the Bishops and Kirk-Men, he took in Hand to be Judge-Criminal to all them that were the Servants of God, and read the *New Testament*.

By this we may see, Brethren, that when Men stand in the highest Degree, and greatest Credit amongst Men, misknowing their God, they are nearest a Fall, as we may see well in the Book of God, in Comparison of this same History, written in the Book of *Esther*, of *Haman* and *Mordecai*. When the said *Haman* stood in his highest Degree with his Master King *Affuerus*, and could not be content with his poor Brethren the *Jews*, but he would purchase a Decree from his Master to put all the foresaid People and Servants of God to Death, and to confisk their Gear to the King's Profit; and all this he did for Envy of poor *Mordecai*; because he would not worship him in his Authority, contrary to his Conscience, therefore he caused prepare a Gallows for him of fifty Cubits high, to hang him upon; whereon, by the mighty Provision of God, and good Prayer of his Servants, he was hanged himself; and his Goods, Gear and Lands were given to the said *Mordecai* in Escheat. Therefore so fared of the said Sir *James Hamilton*; God turned his Wrath presently, that he bure upon his Brother, in unto himself, that he was deposed on this Manner, as we have shown; and all the Servants of God were saved, by God's mighty Power, both from the King and the Kirk-Men, and the furious Rage of this Tyrant Sir *James Hamilton*. But we will let him rest with God, and return to our Purpose and History.

THE same Year a Storm, called *The Evil Storm*, began the thirteen Day of *Zuille*, and continued till the tenth of *April* thereafter.

At this Time the King of *England* came to *York*, there to receive the King of *Scotland*, as his Promise was: But the Bishops would not suffer the King of *Scotland* to keep his Promise; whereat the King of *England* was displeased, and great Wars rose upon the Borders.

In this mean Time, the King of *Scotland* took great Suspicion of his Nobles, that, on no Ways, he could rest; thinking ever, that either one or other would deceive him. And, some Times of the Night, he had great Visions in his Bed; for he thought ever, That Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he had caused justifie before, came and fand him sleeping, and pulled a Sword forth, and strake at him, and cutted off his Right-Arm; and thereafter immediately, with the same Sword, cutted off his  
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Left-Arm ; and then said to him in this Manner, *Thou hast caused slay me wrongously and unjustly ; for I was innocent of the Crime that was laid to me : Though I was a Sinner against God, yet I failed not to thee. Had I been as good a Servant to my Lord my God, as I was to thee, I had not died that Death : But now, berefore, thou shalt want both thy Arms, and remain in sorrowful Pain for a While ; and then I will come and strike thine Head from thee, that thou mayst want the Life.*

WITH this the King awoke out of his Sleep in a great Fray, and shew the same unto his secret Servants that were about him for the Time ; who were therewith displeased and discontent of the King's Vision, and Impediment in his Sleep, thinking that they would have hasty Tidings of the same. But, on the Morrow hereafter, Word came to the King's Grace, that the Prince was very sick and like to die.

THE King, hearing thir Tidings, hasted him to *St. Andrews* to see the Manner : But, ere he came, the Prince was departed, which was very sorrowful unto him. Notwithstanding, immediately the Post came forth of *Stirling* to the King's Grace, shewing him that the Duke of *Albany*, his second Son, would not live. Then the King's Grace hasted him fast to *Stirling* to see the Manner : But soon by he came there, the Duke of *Albany* departed, with great Mourning and Lamentation made for the Departing of thir two, both in forty eight Hours ; which was very sorrowful unto the King's Grace, and also to the Queen their Mother : But yet this Lady gave the King good Comfort, and said that they were young enough, they might have more : And so she, within short Time, became with Child to the King's Grace, comforting the Nobility of *Scotland*.

BUT soon after this the Borders of *Scotland* began to break, with great Her ships, both by Sea and Land. The King of *Scotland*, seeing this, cast his Ingynne to set a Remedy hereunto ; and sent certain Bands of Men of War to defend the same contrary the *English*-Men.

SOON after he set a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, the tenth of *June*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty two ; and there he made a new general Revocation of all Things that he had done in his less Age, that might hurt the Liberty and Patrimony of his Crown : And also he approved and ratified all Things that he had done in the Amplifying of the Liberty of his Crown ; and specially of the Annexation of the Lands, that he had annexed before to the Patrimony of the Crown, *viz.* The Lands and Lordships of the *South Isles* and the *North Isles*, with two *Kintyres* and their Castles, the Lands and Lordships of the Earl of *Douglas*, the Lands and Lordships of the Earldom of *Angus*, the Lands of *Fedward-Forest*, the Lands and Lordships of *Bothwel*, the Lands of *Tantallon*, with all other Lands pertaining to the Earldom of *Angus*, with Donations and Advocations of Benefices ; and siklike the Lands and Lordships of *Glames* ; and also the Lands and Lordship of *Avendale*, with the Castle of *Drapban*, with all other Lands and Possessions

sessions pertaining to Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he had lately forfaulted before ; and then ratified and annexed the same to the Patrimony of the Crown, and made an Act thereupon, *That it should not be leifom to his Successors whatfomever, King, Queen, Governor, or Regent, to dispoſe any of the ſaid Lands from the Patrimony of the Crown ; and it ſhould be leifom to the next crowned King to meddle with the ſoſaid Lands, and take them again Home to his Profit, and Liberty of his Crown, without any Proceſs of Law ; and that the Occupiers and Labourers of the ſame ſhould be conſtrained to pay the yearly Duty and Mails of the ſaid Lands, notwithstanding their pretended Title.*

AFTER thiſ Statutes and Laws, the King took a general Taxation through all the whole Realm, containing five Shillings of the Pound Land ( which Sum aroſe to thirty thouſand Pounds *Scots* ) to ſuſtain his Men of War.

IN the Year following, the King made his Siſter's Son, the Earl of *Huntley*, Lieutenant of the Borders General ; and furniſhed forth with him ten thouſand Men to defend the ſaid Borders, and gave him a Counſeller with him, who was a noble and ancient Lord, named Sir *Walter Lindeſay*, Knight, of *Torphichen*, and Lord of *St. John*, who was well beſeen and practiſed in Wars in *Italy* and *Spain*, and had foughten oft-times with the *Turks* in Defence of the *Chriſtians*, in Company with the Lord of *The Rhodes* ; and there he was made Knight for his valiant Acts ; and thereafter came in *Scotland* and ſerved our King, and had great Credit with him, as I have ſhewn to you before ; who gave him the whole Guiding and Government of his Army : Though he made his Siſters Son, the Earl of *Huntley*, Lieutenant ; yet he commanded him to do nothing by this Nobleman's Advice and Counſel, whom he commanded to have the Vanguard, wherever the Earl fought, or was aſſailed by the Enemies of *England*, which was haſtily thereafter, as I ſhall ſhew how. For thiſ two Noblemen paſt out of *Edinburgh* to the Borders, with ten thouſand Men, the tenth Day of *July*, the Year of God 1542.

SOON after, the *Engliſh*-Men, getting Wit of their Forces, advertiſed the King of *England* thereof ; who ſent to them a great Army, who garniſhed *Berwick*, *Noram* and *Wark*, and ſkirmiſhed with the *Scots* the Space of a Month ; but they had little Vantage ; till, at the laſt, they took Purpoſe quietly to burn *Fedburgh* and *Kelſo*, where the Lieutenant lay and his Army ; but it was not ſo quietly provided, but the Lieutenant had Moyer thereof, by certain Spies that knew the *Engliſh*-Mens Purpoſe, which was to come in the Dawning of the Day : But the *Scots* prevened the Time, and paſt forth about Midnight to the Fields, and watched ſtarkly the *Engliſh*-Men : But, in the Break of Day, the Watches came and ſhew the Lieutenant, that the *Engliſh*-Men were at Hand, within the Space of three *Scottiſh* Miles, with ten thouſand Men in Number, arrayed well in three Battles. The Leaders and Governors were the Earl of *Angus* of *Scotland*, and *George Douglas* his Brother, who then were baniſhed in *England* ; with them in Company were my Lord *Bowis* and his Brother, ſome of the *Piercies* of *Northumberland*,

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with

Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Brian Latoun*, Sir *John Witbrington*, Mr. *Heron*, Sir *Ralph Ivers*, Sir *William* his Brother, with many other good Captains and Soldiers, whom the King of *England* trusted and gave Credit of his Army.

NOTWITHSTANDING, the Lieutenant of *Scotland*, hearing thir Tidings, that the *English* Army were so near, with such Men and Governors to them as I have shown, took no Fear hereof, but past manfully forward with his Army to meet them, and put his Men in Array and Order, as I shall shew you hereafter ; giving this noble and ancient Lord of *St. John* the Vanguard for to guide, viz. A thousand Spears, five hundred Bows, and Hagbutters, which contained two thousand in the whole ; and the Lieutenant came afterward in the Battle, to the Number of four thousand Spears, two thousand Bows, Swords and Habergeons, which were to the Number of six thousand. While, at last, the Day-Light began to shine, that either of the said Armies appeared in others Sight ; and so the *English* Men perceived the *Scottish* Army arrayed in their Sight, and they not advertised thereof, flacked of their Courage, and took Purpose immediately to give Backs and flee. On the other Side, this noble Captain Lord of *St. John* perceiving the same, that the *English*-Men were not able to give Battle, cried for swift Horses to give the Skirmish ; with that the *English*-Men gave Backs and fled, whereon followed the noble Lord with all his Force, and strake them down, and slew and took many Prisoners, to the Number of twenty four score Gentlemen, and ten score slain. This Skirmish and Defeat of *English*-Men was from our Redemption, One thousand five hundred and forty two Years, in the Month of *August*. There was taken at this Skirmish, the Lord *Bows* and his Brother, Mr. *Sadler*, Sir *John Witbrington*, Mr. *Sarisbury*, Mr. *Heron*, and some of the *Peircies* of *Northumberland*, with Sir *Ralph Ivers*, Sir *Brian Latoun*, and other Captains of the Borders ; they that were slain were but Commons.

BUT thir News hastily came to the King of *Scotland*, who was well rejoyced at the same, when he heard tell that such a Skirmish was betwixt his Men and *English*-Men, trusting that he would have Peace therefore on the Borders, by his present Victory ; but his Belief was deceived : For so soon as the King of *England* heard thir Novels, he was heavily discontented therewith, and vowed to God singularly, that he should have a Revenge for the same ; and, to that Effect, sent a Herald to *Scotland*, and gave up Truce with the King of *Scotland*, who was his Sister's Son, declaring to him, by his Herald, if he would not keep his Promise nor Condition with him, he should put such Order to him, as he put to his Father ; declaring to him, That he had the self-same Ward keeping that dang his Father ; *that is to say*, He had the Duke of *Norfolk* living, that struck the Field of *Floudoun*, and slew his Father, with many of the Nobles of *Scotland*.

THE King of *Scotland*, hearing thir Words, was heavily commoved at his Uncle the King of *England*, that he should boast him so with the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was his utter Enemy, and had done no less to him than



than he spake. Yet the Council of *Scotland* thought good to send two Ambassadors to *England* to the King, to feel his Mind, what he was purposed to do at that Time; and also to see if they might pacify his Wrath contrary *Scotland* at that Time: And so the King's Grace, with Advice of his Council, directed away two Noblemen as Ambassadors to the King of *England*, his Uncle, viz. Mr. *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and a noble Knight called Sir *James Learmont* of *Darsay*, and Mr. Household to the King's Grace of *Scotland*. Thir two, as fore-said is, were directed with a Commission to the King of *England*, devised by the King and his Council.

THESE Ambassadors being thus directed to stay King *Harry's* Fury, when they came to the Court of *England* could scarcely get Prefence for a long Time; but were kept still without an Answer, till an Army of fifty thousand Men of the Choice of all *England* was prepared, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was commanded to pass in *Scotland*, and cause the King keep his Promise, or else give him Battle. Further, the King's Grace sent a secret Writing written with his own Hand, and sealed and closed so straitly as could be devised for opening of the same, that no Man should see the same, till it were presented to the King of *England's* Grace, with Directions to thir said Ambassadors, that no Man should know the said Writing saving the two Kings by their own proper Persons; and requesting the King of *England* fervently, That he should let no Man see the said Writing but his own proper Person, and that he should write the Answer of the said Writing again with his own Hand to the King of *Scotland*, like as he had done to him, for familiar Love and secret betwixt them two.

THE Ambassadors past out of *Scotland*, in this Manner as I have shown you, to *London* to King *Harry*; where they were but thrastly received of the King and Council of *England* at that Time; yet, notwithstanding, they presented their Commission from the King and Council of *Scotland*, together with the secret Writing presented by Sir *James Learmont* of *Darsay*, Knight, as the King of *Scotland's* familiar Servant, desiring the King's Grace of *England* to keep that Writing secret to himself, and that no Man should see the same but his own Body, like as the King his Master had given him Command; beseeeking the King of *England's* Grace to write the Answer of the said Writing with his own Hand, and close the same, in like Manner as the King of *Scotland* his Master had done, for Secretness of the King of *Scotland*. The which the King of *England* promised to the said Sir *James*, that no Man should see that Writing but his own Body, and to that he should send the Answer thereof as he desired.

THIS being done, the Ambassadors past to their Lodging; till, on the Morrow, the King and Council convened, and then sent for the *Scottish* Ambassadors to come to the Council, like as others did that were Ambassadors there for the Time; such as, *France*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, with others that were convened there for their leisom Business. But when the Council was all set, and every Man conform to his Degree, and all

Writings

Writings and Letters laid on the Board, casten abroad to the said Lords and Council of *England* to advise with, as it became them, and syne to give an Answer thereupon conform to the Commonweal and Honour of their Country; but immediately Sir *James Learmont* of *Darsay*, Knight, who was Ambassador of *Scotland*, perceived the King of *Scotland*'s secret Writing, that he had presented to the King of *England* on the Night before, with such Direction from his Master, as I have shewn to you, that the said Writing should be kept secret betwixt the two Kings, the whilk the King of *England* promised to do as the King of *Scotland* desired: But when Sir *James* saw the said Writing lying upon the Board patent to every Man that pleased, that was there for the Time, believe well he was very angry with himself, and thought no less than the King of *England* had failed to his Master the King of *Scotland*, though he durst not openly speak the same in Presence of the King and his Nobility: But yet this Man, being of a bold Spirit, could not suffer the Matter long to be unregretted to the King; but, so soon as he rose from the Board, passed to the King's Grace, and fell on his knees, and said unto the King of *England* in this Manner, as after follows. *Sir, if it please your Majesty, if I durst say, with Licence and Pardon, you have not kept your Promise to our Master the King of Scotland; for his secret Writing that I presented to you, which you promised to keep to your own self, and that no Man should see the same but your own Body, which now I see laid open and presented on your Board to all Men that please to read it.*

THE King of *England*, hearing this Man's Complaint and Ennarration, perceived him to be wise and true in his Master's Commission, and so fervent in that Cause, answered him in this Manner, saying, *My Heart, Sir James, I had rather give twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, ere I failed to my Sister's Son the King of Scotland, your Master, or break any Promise to him, as you alledge: And as for your Writing that you see yonder open upon the Board, no Man hath seen it but my own Body; for they that are yonder are my own Body, and I the Head; and they are in me, and I in them, in all Conclusions and Counsels bolden or given in England by me, since I was King thereof; and be you sure that they dare not any of them show any Point or Fot of my Secret to any other, for all the Gold in England. And you may assure my Sister's Son, the King of Scotland, if he use himself or the Commonwealth of his Realm otherwise, in any secret Manner, without the Advice of his Lords and great Men and Counsellors, as I do, and make them his own Body, and be to be their Head, or else he shall have an ill-guided Realm, and tyne himself and them both, and misfair the Government and Guidment of his Country and Commonweal thereof; and, at the last, his own self misknow him, and his Enemies shall overcome him, when he has most ado: Therefore I would counsel him to discharge all privy Counsel, and specially Priests and Flatterers, who bindred him to speak with me, which he shall know them as evil Counsellors at the Length.*

So the King of *England* made an End of his Communing to the Ambassadors of *Scotland*, and gave them no Answer at that Time, but  
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Off-putting, till he had made and prepared his Army to come in *Scotland* with the Duke of *Norfolk*, as ye shall hear thereafter.

THE King of *Scotland* hearing of the News foresaid, and getting Word that the King of *England* was preparing a great Army to come to *Scotland* with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and hearing no Answer of his Ambassadors, incontinent caused make Proclamation through all *Scotland* to all Manner of Man betwixt sixty and sixteen, both spiritual and temporal, Burgh and Land, as well in the far Isles as firm Land, to compare at *Edinburgh* with forty Days Victuals on the *Burrow-Muir*; and further, to pass with the King where he pleased, in Defence of the Realm contrary the *English*-Men, which were coming hastily to invade his Realm; who came in *Scottish* Ground the second Day of *October*, which was the third Day of the King's Convention of his Nobility at *Falaw*: Who convened there with the whole Number of his Lords and Barons, Gentlemen and Freeholders, and all Manner of Men betwixt sixty and sixteen, which gave their Musters, and were found pumbered by the Heraulds fifty thousand fighting Men, by the Vanguard, who were with the Earl of *Huntley* for the Time, together with the whole Borders of *Scotland*. Of all were counted sixty thousand in Number; whereof there were twenty thousand Picks and Spears, and twenty thousand with Bows and Habergeons, and two-handed Swords, which was the Armour of our *Highland*-Men; and also of Artillery and Canons, six great Culverings, six Battars, six Double-Falcons, and thirty Field-Pieces, and forty Carts with Powder and Bullets, and Piks and Spears, with all Kind of Ordnance of Munition, which pertained to a Prince against his Enemies. And, the second Day thereafter, they came to *Falaw*, and marched forward beside *Lawder*, to a Place, called *The Barlabough*, near the Kirk of *Lawder*; and there came a Post from the Earl of *Huntley*, the King's Lieutenant, shewing to him, that the Duke of *Norfolk* was coming over *Tweed*, and sent Message to him, desiring Battle of the King's Majesty, or else to keep his Promise that he had made to the King of *England*.

OF thir News the King was wondrous commoved, and caused the Lords to assemble together to a Council holden at *Lawder*-Kirk, and the King shew to them his Mind by two of his wisest Lords; for he came not himself to that Convention, but directed his Mind to them, as after follows; *that is to say*, He desired of his Lords, that he might be revenged of the Duke of *Norfolk* his Enemy, who was coming in *Scotland* to invade him, at the King of *England*'s Command, with his whole Puissance and Ordnance against him.

UPON this the Lords took to be advised, and to give the King's Grace an Answer thereupon. The Lords falling in a Disputation in this Manner, saying amongst themselves, That they could not pass forward at that Time with their Honour and Conscience, because of the Band that was made betwixt the King of *England* and the King of *Scotland*; the which Band and Promise was sealed with the great Seal of *Scotland*, and subscribed with their own Hands; but yet they promised to the King, if the Duke

of *Norfolk* came forward to invade their native Country, they would defend ; but they would not pass in *England* at that Time.

THIS Answer was sent to the King by the whole Lords of the Council, born and repeted by the Earl of *Glencairn*. But when the King heard this Answer, he was noways contented. But, in this mean Time, a Watch came, and shew the King that the Duke of *Norfolk* was past back again over *Tweed*, and was camped on *English* Ground.

OF this News the King was very desirous to have followed him in *England*, and to fight with him ; but the Lords would consent, on no Ways, thereunto, nor give their Council that the King should go any further at that Time, considering that the Duke of *Norfolk* had done no Skaith in *Scotland* at that Time ; neither burnt, nor herried, nor destroyed any Town : Therefore they had the less Will to follow him on *English* Ground to do him any Skaith, though the King was very ardent thereunto. Then the Lords, seeing that the King's Mind could not be restrained from Battle, and in special from Battle in *English* Ground, they laid their Heads together in Council, that they would not fight at that Time for the King : For there was some of them that said, he was a better Priests King than he was theirs, and used more of the Priests Counsel than he did of theirs : Therefore they had no Heart to fight with him in Battle ; but said, it were more meritorious to hang all his secret Servants, and his familiar Counsellors, that gave him such Counsel contrary the Welfare of his Realm.

THIS was concluded among themselves, and declared unto the King by some of their Counsel. But when the King's Grace was advertised hereof, and knew well their Minds, he made no longer Tarry, but past hastily, with his Household and secret Servants, to *Edinburgh*. But the Council and all the whole Army continued still, till on the Morrow that they got sure Word that the Duke of *Norfolk* was retired homeward in *England* ; and then the Lords pulled up their Pavilions, and returned homeward. Then the King of *Scotland* grew very commoved at the Lords, because they would not pass in *England* to fight with him against the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had slain his Father at *Flowerdown* ; and vowed singularly, that he should cause them pass in *England*, and fight, or else flee and shame themselves, or else *Scotland* should not hold him and them both : And, in his high Rage and Fury, made a Proclamation to all Lords, Barons, Gentlemen and Freeholders, to be in Readiness, within twenty four Hours Warning, to follow the King where he pleased. So, on the fifteenth Day of *November*, the King past to *Peebles*, and made Warning to all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Scotland* to follow him, and meet him at *Peebles*, and there to pass with him where he pleased : For incontinent he past to *Moffat*, and syne to the Water of *Esk* ; and then sent in his Lords and Gentlemen into *England* to burn, herry and waste the Country ; which was very fore against the Lords Counsel and Will, and would, on no Ways, take the Matter on Hand, nor yet consent that the King should pass there himself, to use such Rigour or Malice to his Mother-Brother the King of *England*.

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WHEN the King saw that his Lords would, on no Ways, please to pass forward, nor had no Will to serve his Appetite, he caused to make a Proclamation in the Midst of his Army, and made *Oliver Sinclair*, one of his familiar Servants, Lieutenant over the said Army; and commanded them straitly by the Heralds all to obey the said *Oliver*, and pass with him where he pleased, as they would do with the King's own Body: And the King past himself a little from the Army, to the Castle of *Lochmaben*, to remain there to see what Success came of his Enterprize. But the Lords and Nobility of *Scotland* seeing his wilful Misgovernment toward his own Commonwealth of *Scotland*, and that he would not use their Counsel thereinto; but he abused them so, that, in the Place of great Earls and Lords, that should have been Lieutenant and Governor of his Army, or Battle, at this Time, he chused one of his Courtiers to be Governor of his Army, and to be Lieutenant, and discharged great Earls and Lords which had it before; such as, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord of *Maxwel*, with other great Men on the Borders: Thir Lords seeing this, consulted together, and said they would, on no Ways, fight under *Oliver Sinclair*'s Banner, for they knew him not for a Governor or Lieutenant to them; and concluded whole in one Purpose, that they had rather be taken and had to King *Harry*, than for to abide the King's Fury in *Scotland*, or Tyranny wrought on them by Counsel of the Priests and Courtiers: For the Priests, as I have shewn you before, abused the King's Grace so, that they put great Dissension betwixt him and his Lords, and caused him understand, that they were all Hereticks, and Readers of the *Old* and *New Testament*: And therefore were worthy to be burnt, and their Lands and Goods confiscate and brought to the King's Profit. Of this the Courtiers were well contented, and many of them consented hereunto, because they were the Bishops Pensioners; thinking, that if such Things came forward, they would get some Casualty thereby.

THUS the King was abused, and tint many of the Hearts of all his Lords; for he gave them no Credit, and they hoped no Good in his Hands: Therefore they tint Hearts, and had no Will to raise Fire in *England*. But the *English*-Men, on the other Side, seeing so great an Army of *Scotland* coming upon them so hastily, which was to the Number of fifteen thousand Gentlemen, by Borderers, coming in good Array like as they would have foughten; at this the *English*-Men were sore agast at the Coming of the *Scottish*-Men so hastily; and then, without any Manner of Warning, they convened themselves together, that they might be advised. But their Number was but few and small to the Respect of *Scottish*-Men; yet they were all Borderers, and could ride and prick well, and held the *Scottish*-Men in pingling by their Pricking and Skirmishing, till the Night came down on them; and they were in such strait Ground, where they knew not the Passages, that they could scantly retire in Order as they should have done, and they had no Vivers, Horse-Meat nor Mans-Meat, to tarry that Night, nor yet Guides to pass through the Passages, which they might safely ridden; but they retired, uncunningly, to a Part called *The Stagmire*, where there was no Passage; and syne to the Water of *Esk*; and there the Sea was in, and the Water

Water was four Fathom deep, where the Host came over ; yet, in all the Straits, they had no Skaith of *English-Men* : But, at the last, they came to a Place called *The Solway-Moss*, wherethrough neither Horse nor Man might pass, and there laired all their Horse, and mischieved them, that Force it was to take them to their Feet : And then the *English-Men*, seeing the *Scots* at that Strait, cried with so hideous Shouts and Cries, that they put such a Fear to the *Scots*, that they brake and fled ; and there were many of them taken by the *English-Men*, and had in *England*. So the Host was dispersed and scattered abroad, and the Night was growing mirk upon them, that they knew not where they were, nor a *Scottish-Man* by an *English-Man* : And so, by this unhappy Chance and Misgovernment of the *Scottish-Men*, there were many *Scottish-Men* taken, and had into *England* as Prisoners, and specially the great Lords, and Barons, and Courtiers that were taken there, and had to *London* to King *Harry*, who were well entertained there, as after I shall shew you ; but there were few slain, neither by *English* nor *Scots*, but twenty five Persons, viz. Ten *Scottish-Men* and fifteen *English-Men*.

THIR News coming to the King of *Scotland*, where he was for the Time, viz. In the Castle of *Lochmaben*, shewing to him how his Lords were taken, and his Army defeat ; then the King grew wondrous sorrowful and pensive in his Heart, seeing no good Success come to him, neither by Chance nor Fortune, against his Enemies. Then he began to remord in his Conscience, and thought the Government of his Life toward his God had the principal Cause hereof, remembring himself, that he had broken Promise to his Uncle the King of *England* ; and also had tint the Hearts of all his Nobles, through evil Counsel and false Flattering of his Bishops, and the privy Counsel of his Courtiers, not regarding his wise Lords Counsel : He knew well that thir Causes had the Wyte of his Misgovernment and shameful Chance that he had sustained at that Journey ; wherethrough he took such Melancholy and Displeasure, that no Comfort, on no Ways, by no godly Man, might satisfy him, nor bring him to Rest. He past to *Edinburgh*, and there remained eight Days, with great Dolour and Lamentation for the Tinsel and Shame of his Lieges, which was, by Misfortune and evil Government brought to Shame and Dishonour ; which put the King's Grace in Despair that he could never recover his Honour again.

THIS being done, the King past out of *Holy-rood-house* to *Falkland*, and there became heavy and dolorous, that he never ate nor drank that had Digestion ; and so he became vehement sick, that no Man had Hope of his Life. Then he sent for certain of his Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, to have their Counsel ; but, ere they came, he was nearhand strangled to Death by extreme Melancholy.

By this the Post came to the King out of *Lithgow*, showing to him good Tidings, that the Queen was delivered. The King enquired, whether it was a Man-Child or a Woman. The Messenger said, *It is a fair Daughter*. The King answered, *Adieu, Farewel, it came with a Lass, and it will pass with a Lass*. And so he recommended himself

self to the Mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that Time forth, but turned his Back unto his Lords, and his Face unto the Wall.

At this Time, *David Beaton* Cardinal of *Scotland*, standing in Presence of the King, seeing him begin to fail of his Strength and natural Speech, held a Throch of Paper to his Grace, and caused him to subscribe the same; wherein the said Cardinal wrote what pleased him for his own particular Well, thinking to have Authority and Preheminence in the Government of the Country: But we may know hereby the King's Legacy was very short; for in this Manner he departed, as after I shall shew you. He turned him upon his Back, and looked, and beheld all his Nobles and Lords about him, and gave a little Smile of Laughter, syne kissed his Hand, and offered the same to all his Nobles round about him; thereafter held up his Hands to God, and yielded his Spirit to God.

THIS noble Prince, if he would have used the Counsel of his wife Lords and godly Men, and used his Body after their Counsel, he might have lived, by Nature and Expectation of Man, forty Years longer than he did: But he departed the thirty first Year of his Age, the twenty ninth of his Reign, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and forty two Years, the twentieth Day of *December*, at *Falkland*, in his own Palace, and that very quietly: For few were at his Departing, except the Cardinal, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Erskine*, the Lord *Lindesay*, the Doctor, Mr. *Michael Durie*, Sir *David Lindesay* of *The Mont*, Lyon-Herauld, the Laird of *Grange*, *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, *Norman Lesly*, Master of *Rothes*; the rest were but his own secret Servants. And this noble Prince, if he would have received the Counsel of his wife and godly Lords, and would have kept his Body from Harlotry, and had left the evil Counsel of his Papists, Bishops and greedy Courtiers, he had been the most noble Prince that ever ragn in the Realm of *Scotland*: For he was full of Policy and Honesty at his Beginning, and did many good Acts in his Realms, as, bigging of Palaces and Castles, and furnishing the Realm with good Artillery, with all other Kind of Weapons, as, Harness, Picks and Spears, and all other Provision for his Realm, as accords for a King and the Commonwealth of his Realm. But from Time he was abused with Papistry, and would not suffer the Word of God to have free Passage in his Realm, whereof he would never hear, because it teaches Sinners to Repentance and Amendment of Life, and specially Idolaters and Adulterers; and the said King, knowing himself to be one of those, he had the less Will thereof, because it accused his Conscience, if the Word had been truly preached. And another Cause there was, the great Profit that the Bishops gave to him, by the Pope's Men, to defend the Authority of the Kirkmens Liberty, that he, abused through Covetousness, consented to their wicked and evil Counsel against the Evangel of *Jesus Christ*, which was the principal Cause of his evil Success in his latter Days: For the Bishops, Priests and Friars caused him understand, that he might take his Pleasure through all *Scotland* of what Gentlewoman he pleased, whether she were married or unmarried; and so to spend his

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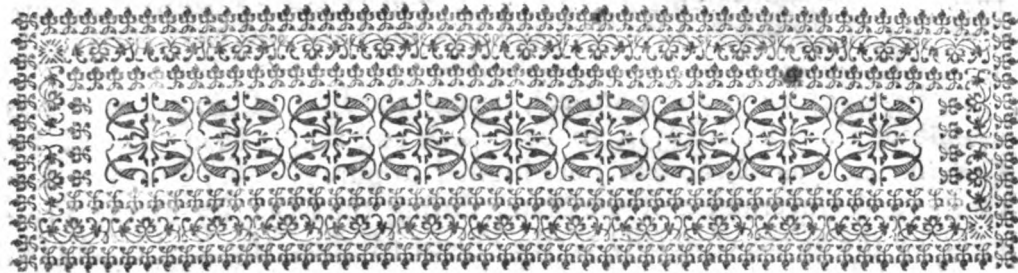
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Body upon them as he pleased, contrary the Commandment of God ; they put him in such Belief, that they should not impute to him any Sin, so he used their Counsel, and defended their Liberty of the holy Kirk. So they caused him both to use Idolatry and Adultery ; *viz.* Idolatry, in stopping of Christ's Evangel, authorizing the Mass and Pilgrimage, with other vain Superstition ; and Adultery, in using other Mens Wives. So they abused this noble Prince, that he tint the Favour of God, and Nobles of his Realm ; whereat he took great Displeasure and Melancholy, whereby he was strangled to Death, in Manner as I have shewn you before. Always this Prince left meikle Riches behind him, both of Gold, Silver, Jewels, Horses and Ships, with many more Moveables, which never came to count to any of his own, as is known to the whole Nobility and Lieges of *Scotland*.

**B**UT we will let him rest with God, and return to our History, giving a general Admonition to all Kings, Princes, or Governors, or any that bruiks Authority for the Time, that they begin at Almighty God to set forth his Glory into the Realm ; *viz.* To cause preach the Word of God truly to the People, and cause an ecclesiastical Discipline to be used by the Ministers thereof. *Next*, Cause visit and provide for the Poor, and bring up the Youth at Schools, and see that the Patrimony of God's Kirk be well paid by the temporal Men that have it in their Hands ; and that it be spende in this Manner by them that take it up, which is the Will of God, pronounced by the Mouth of his Prophet *Malachy*, in the third Chapter. This being done, God first served, his Glory set forward, then use the civil Order conform to a godly King : *That is to say*, To minister Justice equally to great and small, poor and rich, and reward them that do Good, and punish them that do Evil ; and treat and honour the true Lords of the Realm who are godly and honest, and use their Counsel ; and, in like Manner, punish and correct the greedy and covetous Lords and Barons who are Oppressors of their Neighbours, disobedient both to God and their Prince. And, attour all Things, let Princes and Governors, or whosoever that brooketh Authority, keep his Body clean and undefiled, and pure from Harlotry and Avarice ; in so doing, obeying God, as I have spoken, I have no Doubt but God shall cause his Subjects to obey him, in all godly and honest Affairs, according to the Honour of God, and the Welfare of his Realm, as I have shewn to you before : Therefore I beseeke God, of his Mercy, to instruct, maintain and illuminate the Hearts of all *Christian* Kings, to consider the Admonition that I have forespoken to their Instruction. *Amen.*

**T H E**





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
Q U E E N M A R Y.



**I**n the Year of our Lord One thousand five hundred and forty three Years, in the Month of *January*, many of our Lords and Barons of *Scotland* were lying captive in *England*, being taken at *Sokway-Moss*, and were kindly entertained by King *Henry*. At which Time Word came to *England* of the Death of King *James V.* whereat King *Hary* sighd, saying, *Wo is me, for there will never reign in Scotland a King so sib to me, neither whom I favoured so much, or so affectuously wished for his Conference, which would have turned to Joy and Benefit to us both, if he had not been hindred by evil Counsel.* But when the Messenger told him that the *Scottish* Queen was delivered of a Daughter, and no more Succession left by the King, he then began to conjecture that which after came to pass, that, in regard of the Facility of the Earl of *Arran*, next Heir to the Crown, by the *Kirkmens* Counsel and the Queen's Procurement, being a *French*-Woman, the Lords of *Scotland* would be induced to put this young Queen in the Hands of the *French*, rather than his, albeit she was so near of his Blood: Wherefore he set himself, by all Means, to bring the two Realms to an Alliance, and so to Unity, Peace and Concord. To this Effect, he used the Lords of *Scotland*, his Captives, very friendly, and bountifully dismiss them, desiring nothing of them, but that they would stand his Friends, and do their best in the Council of *Scotland*, when Time should offer Occasion,

to

to bring both the Realms to an Union, their Honours and Allegiance safe. The Lords, having promised this much, returned Home the twenty fifth Day of *January*, One thousand five hundred and forty three.

MEANWHILE, the Cardinal, seeing the Earl of *Arran*, who was nearest of the Blood-Royal, to be a facile and simple Man, unmeet for Government ( as he thought ) set himself to purchase that Room of Authority and Government of the State, during the Minority of the Princess, by the means especially of the Queen-Mother, the Earl of *Argyle*, the Lord *Seaton*, and other his Friends; pretending the King's Testament and Latter-Will, wherein he himself had been appointed Governor of the Realm, and Tutor to the young Queen. The Queen-Mother and Lords of the *French* Faction favoured him highly : But the Earl of *Arran*, by the Advice of his Friends, disdaining to be stopt of his Right by a Priest, joyned himself with the Earl of *Angus*, returning from *England* after fifteen Years Banishment, knowing him and his Brother Sir *George* to be Men of great Action and Experience ; whereof the Queen and her Faction were not well content. Hereupon both Parties made all the Friendship they could against the next Convention of the Estates, which was holden at *Edinburgh*, the tenth Day of *February*, in the Year foresaid.

IN the which Convention, *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, was chosen Protector and Governor of *Scotland* ; the Cardinal and his Faction appealing from this Election, and asking Instruments thereupon. There came also to this Convention a Herald from the King of *England*, desiring a safe Conduet for an Ambassador to treat with the Governor anent the Affairs betwixt the two Realms. Which Desire was granted by the Advice of the Governor's Counsel. There was also a Herald directed to *England* for Redelivery of the Garter and Order of *St. George*, in the which *James*, the late King of *Scots*, had been invested by his Uncle King *Harry*, who rewarded the Herald richly, and sent an Ambassador after him, named Mr. *Sadler*, whom the Governor received very kindly. He stayed three Months in *Scotland*, labouring for a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *England* and Princess of *Scotland*, and uniting of the two Realms in perpetual Friendship ; whereunto the Governor and his Council hastily assented, and bound up the same most amply, under the Interchange of the great Seals of *Scotland* and *England*. But the Cardinal, the Kirkmen, the Queen-Mother, and all the *French* Faction, being enraged hereat, laboured so earnestly in the contrary, that the Marriage was retreated in plain Parliament ; the Bishops also, and other Kirkmen, and the Citizens of *Edinburgh*, used the *English* Ambassador very dishonourably : Whereby King *Harry* being justly irritate, sent an Army by Sea, which landed at *Grantoungrange* west-by *Leith*, the third of *May*, in the Year foresaid, to the Number of forty thousand Men ; who, having remained certain Days in *Leith*, past up to *Edinburgh*, and burnt the Town, and the whole Kirks thereof, with the King's Palace of *Holy-rood-house*. They shot also at the Castle ; but the Garison ishing forth and skirmishing with them, they were forced to retire, leaving some of their Ordnance behind them, which yet remaineth in *Scotland* ; some Part also they

they broke. They took also the Castle of *Craigmillar*, spoiled it, and burnt it, with the Villages adjacent to *Edinburgh*; and, at their Departure, burnt the Town of *Leith*, revenging the Dishonour done to their Ambassador.

AFTER their Departure, the Lords held a Convention; and considering that the Cardinal had been the Occasion of breaking the Amity betwixt the two Realms, and of the Mischief ensuing thereupon, resolved to put him in Prison; and while he was sitting at Table in the Council, they caused Officers lay Hands upon him, and put him in a secret Chamber; and thereafter delivered him in Keeping to my Lord *Seaton*: But this Lord, being partly moved with the Queen's Favour, partly allured by great Gifts of Gold and Silver, let him escape: So that he raged more furiously than before, with all Contempt of the Authority. He procured, by secret Messages, the Earl of *Lennox* to come Home from *France*, (moved the more by the Queen's Supplication) promising him the Marriage of the Queen-Mother, and Governorship of the Realm, in Place of the Earl of *Arran*, whom he undertook to prove to be a Bastard. The *French* King, notwithstanding he highly esteemed the Earl of *Lennox*; yet, upon these Reasons, he dismissed him, with Promises of Assistance.

THE Governor, to prevent this Storm, resolved to get the young Queen in his Hands. But the Cardinal advertised thereof, with great Gifts of Gold, drew the Earl of *Argyle*, and other Noblemen, to his Faction; who assembling to the Number of ten thousand Men, past to *Lithgow*, where the Queen-Mother and her Daughter were. The Nobility also being unwilling to put the young Queen in the Hands of him who was nearest Heir to the Crown; at length it was accorded, That four indifferent Noblemen, the Lords *Graham*, *Lindesay*, *Erskine*, and *Livingston*, should receive the young Queen and her Mother, and keep the Princess in the Castle of *Stirling*, as they would be answerable to God, and the Estates of the Kingdom, upon the Pain of Forfeiture, till further Order were taken. Hereupon the Cardinal and Governor scaled their Armies, and met in *Lithgow*; and, by the Queen-Mother's Mediation, were finally agreed; and, on the Morn, past to *Stirling* with the young Queen, to whom the whole Lords of *Scotland* assembling, the Queen was crowned the twentieth Day of *August*, in the Year foresaid, with great Solemnity.

WHEN the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been received by the Cardinal with many flattering Words, understood that the Governor and he were agreed upon all Things, repented himself of his rash Enterprize. The Cardinal, as he favoured the Governor after his Reconciliation, as being his near Kinsman, Son to his Mother's Sister; so he would gladly have been rid of the Earl of *Lennox* with his Credit: Wherefore he moved the Queen-Mother to entertain him tenderly, and hold him in Hope of her Marriage, and so pacify him, till Time might work further.

THE Earl of *Bothwell*, at the same Time, being a gallant young Nobleman, hoped for the Marriage of the Queen-Mother: So that these two Earls daily frequented the Court, striving, in Magnificence of Apparel, and in all courtly Games, the one to exceed the other, especially in the Queen's Sight. But the Earl of *Lennox*, being well bred in the Wars of *France*, surpassed the other, both in Ability of Body, and Dexterity of Exercise. He was of a strong Body, well proportionate, of a sweet and manly Visage, straight in Stature, and pleasant in Behaviour. *Bothwell* was fair and whitely, something hanging-shouldered and going forward; but of a gentle and humane Countenance. These two being fed with fair Words for a Time, at length the Earl *Bothwell*, having spent very much, was forced to retire. The Earl of *Lennox* urged the Queen and Cardinal to perform their Promise, or else to refund his Losses by his Enterprize, and restore him whence they had brought him. Of which Desire they were not content. Mean while Captain *James Stuart* of *Cardonock* brought thirty thousand Crowns from the *French* King, for furthering of the Earl of *Lennox* his Affairs. The Queen and Cardinal had no Will that he should pass out of *Scotland*, but to keep him still as an Awe-Band above the Governor's Head; and therefore they put him off with fair Promises: Wherewith, at length, being irritable, he resolved to be avenged of their Dissimulation; and, returning Home, he solicited the Earl of *Angus*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, and the whole *Cunninghams*, the Laird of *Tillibardin*, with the whole *Murrays*, with the Name of *Stuart*, and all his own Kinsmen and Friends, to the Number of twelve thousand Men; and came boldly to *Edinburgh* where the Cardinal and Governor were, and encamped betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, provoking them to Battle, or else to keep Promise. The Cardinal knowing him to be a skilled Warriour, and that he had many valiant Men in his Company, kept himself quiet; and, by Mediators, practised so cunningly with the Earl of *Angus*, that he was moved to deal with *Lennox* to skale his Army, and to expect that the Queen and Cardinal would give him full Satisfaction; and having awaited three or four Days, and seeing no Appearance of Battle, although he was discontent with the Motion, yet was constrained to hearken to the Earl of *Angus*'s Counsel. Thereafter, perceiving himself to be deluded on all Hands, and secret Plots contrived against him, hearing that there was a Ship landed at *Dumbartoun* from *France*, with thirty thousand Crowns, directed to him, to be distributed by the Advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he intercepted the same, and furnished the Castle of *Glasgow* with Men and Munition. Hereat the Queen and Cardinal, being highly displeased, perswaded the Governor to raise an Army, and besiege the Castle of *Glasgow*, where they thought to find the Earl of *Lennox*.

THE eight Day of *March*, One thousand five hundred and forty four, the Governor came to *Glasgow* with twelve thousand Men, bringing sundry Canons, and other Artillery, from *Edinburgh*. The Siege lasted ten Days, till all their Powder and Bullets were spent: Therefore they practised with the Keepers of the Castle to yield it, promising great Rewards to them, and all who were with them. The Keepers were *John Stuart* and *William*, being Sons to the Abbot of *Dryburgh*; who, know-

knowing of no Relief, were glad of the Offer, and yielded the Castle to the Governor. Notwithstanding, the two Brethren foresaid were imprisoned during the Governor's Pleasure; and all the rest were immediately hanged. The Earl himself, being summoned, was put to the Horn for Non-Compearence, and thereafter forfeaulted. So that he, seeing no Refuge in *Scotland*, and hearing that the *French* King, being possessed by the Calumnies of his Unfriends, was alienated from him, shortly thereafter he retired into *England*, where he was kindly entertained by King *Henry*; who gave him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, begotten upon his Sister Queen *Margaret* by *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*.

IN the next Parliament, the Earl's whole Vassals and Followers were forfeaulted; for whose Compositions the Governor obtained great Sums of Money; howbeit, he lost their Hearts for his extreme Rigour. The Cardinal also so misled the Governor, that no Peace could be bound up with *England*, neither durst any of the Barons give any free or profitable Counsel in the publick Affairs; yea, not so much as come to Court, for their own Affairs, without the Cardinal's Assurance. The *English*-Men, knowing this, entred in, both by the *East* and *West* Marches, and utterly spoiled and destroyed all before them, with great Slaughter of the Inhabitants. So that many were forced to wear the *Red Cross*, and swear Allegiance to *England*. This continued all the Summer, till Winter came on; at which Time, having destroyed *Teviotdale* and *Merse*, they took the Abbay of *Coldingham*, and laid all waste as far as *Dumbar*.

THE Governor, being hereby forced to enterprize something, made Proclamations for all Men to come, provided with eight Days Victuals, to attend the Governor. So, assembling about twelve thousand Men, he past to *Coldingham*, having with him the Earls of *Angus* and *Bothwell*, the Lords *Erskine*, *Drummond* and *Gray*, with many other Nobles: But the Weather being extreme cold in the Winter-Season, and the Army standing all Night on Foot in Battle-Array, battering the House with their Canon, without effecting any Thing; and a Rumour being spread about the Break of Day, That the *English* Army was coming at hand to the Rescue; the Governor, being jealous of many of the Noblemen about him, and fearing to be delivered by them into the Hands of the *English*, posted back to *Dumbar*, leaving the Queen's Ordnance to the Danger of the Enemy; so that some gave Counsel to leave them, others to break them, that they might be unprofitable to the *English*. But the Earl of *Angus*, seeing the Host disbanding, said, *God forbid that I should either break the Queen's Canon, or leave them to the Enemy, so long as I may breathe; and here I vow to God, that either I shall restore them Home in Safety, or else die in their Defence.* Herewith alighting on Foot, with his Brother and Friends, he went forward in Order of Battle, and convoyed the Artillery safely to *Dumbar*; for the *English*, who came fast forward to encounter the *Scots* in their Retreat, seeing the Earl of *Angus* return in so good Order, and knowing his Valour and Resolution, durst attempt nothing. Hereby the Earl of *Angus* purchased great Honour.

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THE *English*-Men, with Sir *Ralph Ivers* and Sir *Bryan Latoun*, General and Lieutenant of their Army, grew so proud of the Victory, that they, accounting the whole Lands of *Scotland* by-south *Edinburgh* to be now fully conquered, past to the Court to be rewarded for so great Service. King *Hary*, by the Perswasion of the Duke of *Norfolk*, condescended to them, That, seeing they had conquered *The Merse* and *Teviotdale*, being two most populous and fertile Countries in these Quarters of *Britain*, and had brought all the People and Inhabitants to the *English* Obedience (although that Conquest had stood the King above thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling*) yet he would, by Charter and Infeftment under the great Seal of *England*, give to these two Noblemen these two Sherifdoms, with the Countries adjacent, erected in two Lordships: For (said the Duke) if indeed they have fully conquered these Countries, and brought them under your Obedience, they are worthy of so great a Reward; and besides, all Men shall hereby see how great Respect your Majesty bath to valiant Spirits; and hereby ye shall oblige these two Noblemen to defend these Lands by all Means possible. The King moreover gave them three thousand Men, upon his own Charges, for Year and Day, to assist them in Possession of their Conquest, beside Borderers, who would joyn with them.

THESE two Captains, being glad of their good Success, hastened them to come and take Seisin of their new Conquest; and, upon the eighth Day of *March*, they came to *Fedburgh* with an Army of five thousand Men, purposing to take Seisin of *The Merse* and *Teviotdale*; thereafter to come to *Haddingtoun*, and to *Edinburgh* if they were not stopt.

THE Earl of *Angus*, seeing no Order taken for Resistance, came to the Governor, and sharply reproved him, that he, using the only Counsel of the Cardinal and Priests, suffered the Enemy to prevail so far. If ye continue thus (said he) you will be shortly thrust out of all *Scotland*, or else forced to submit yourself as tributary to *England*. Whereas, if you would follow the Counsel of the Nobility, we might be able to defend our own, and do the *English* one ill Turn for another; and albeit you should ly aside, yet I here avow to spend my Life in the Quarrel; and, if they come to take Seisin in my Lands, I shall bear them Witness to it, and perhaps write them an Instrument with sharp Pens and red Ink. And whereas now, being misguided by the evil Council of the Cardinal and Kirkmen, you are in Suspicion of me and other of the Nobility; yet, if you will follow our Counsel at this Time, we shall, God willing, shew your Grace a real Demonstration of the contrary, and take a Part ourselves in our own Conclusions: Whereas your Kirkmen, when they have brought great Trouble on the Realm, were never present at the Off-putting thereof. Go on therefore resolutely, and I shall adventure before you in all Hazards; for I had rather die with Honour in the Defence of my Country and Heritage, than live to see the same brought to Bondage.

THE Governor, animated with these Speeches, by the Earl's Advice, resolved to go forward against the Enemy with the small Forces which  
were

were about them (the Earl and he both not exceeding three hundred Horse in Company) and sent Proclamations to all the Nobility and Gentry, that were near, to follow him.

THE Enemies were come that same Night to *Fedburgh*, as we have said; and hearing that the Governor was coming to lodge in *Melrofs* with so small a Company, they thought all was their own, and came forward, in the Night, to intrap the Governor in his Lodging; yet he, being advertised, retired back above the Bridge of *Melrofs*, to a Place called *The Shiels*, and lodged there, by the Advice of the Earl of *Angus*, and sent forth Trumpets to advertise the neighbour Gentlemen to meet the Governor at *Gallaheels* in all Haste. The Enemy, missing the Governor, spoiled *Melrofs*, and returned towards *Fedburgh*. Mean time *Norman Le'ly*, Master of *Rothies*, and the Lord *Lindesay's* Servants, and the neighbour Barons; the Laird of *Lochlevin* also, and the Gentlemen of the *West End of Fife*, to the Number of twelvescore able Men, having ridden all that Night, met the Governor at *Gathenside*, foreanent *Melrofs*; whereof he was very glad: And seeing the *English*-Men tarrying a little at *Libbertoun's* Crois to view the *Scottish*-Mens Array, and understand their Intent; the *Scots* marched *South-West* from *Melrofs*, round about *Ancram*, pretending as if they minded not to meddle with the *English*; who, marching towards *Fedburgh*, stayed long at *The Sandy-Caseway*, it being so narrow that they could not march but two a Front. Meanwhile the Laird of *Balcleugh* came posting to the Governor, shewing him that his whole Followers were coming, with all Speed, within six Miles. He counselled the Governor to send back all the Horse to a Hill where the Artillery stood, and to draw themselves into a low Place, out of the *English*-Mens Sight; whereby the *English*-Men would be perswaded that they were fled, and would follow them without Order. Which fell out accordingly. For the *English*-Men, believing that the *Scots* fled, pursued them so fast, that they were all out of Breath. The first Battle, led by Sir *Bryan Latoun* and Sir *Robert Bowis*, had, in the Midst of the Battle, a thousand Spears; and, on their right Wing, five hundred Hagbutters, and, on the left, five hundred Bows. Sir *Ralph Ivers* led the great Battle, containing a thousand Spears, a thousand Hagbutters, and as many Bows. The *Scots*, at the Beginning, had only three hundred Men with the Governor, and two hundred with the Earl of *Angus*. The *English* hastened them to preveen the Flight of the *Scots*, thinking, by one Encounter, to put an End to the War. But they, lighting on the Ambush of the *Scots*, all wearied, and out of Breath, albeit they were discouraged, yet, contemning the Fewness of their Number, set upon them. The *Scots* had providently gotten the Advantage both of the Wind and Sun (being both in the *South-West*) so that the Sun-Beams and Smoke of the Powder took all Sight from the *English*; besides, the *Scottish*-Mens Spears were an Ell longer than the *English*; whereby the *English* were born down before they could reach at the *Scots*; who, encountring them most violently, beat back the Vanguard upon the great Battle; and so, disordering both, put them to Flight, killing their two Leaders, Sir *Ralph Ivers* and Sir *Bryan Latoun*, and a great Number of Gentlemen and common Soldiers, to the Number of five hundred;

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with the Loss of two *Scottish*-Men, slain rakelessly by their own Artillery. There were taken a thousand, whereof eighty were Gentlemen. The Governor, at Night, returning to his Standard, kneeled down, and gave solemn Thanks to God for the unexpected Victory; the like whereof hath scarcely been read of, that so small a Number discomfited so great a Host, and so well appointed. The chief of the Captives were, Mr. *Howard* the Queen's Uncle, Mr. *Hutchison* Major of *York*, the Lord *Bowis*, Sir *John Wubringtoun*, many of the *Hérons* and *Sellies*, and other Gentlemen of the Borders, and Knights of great Esteem. This Battle was foughten in *Teviotdale*, at *Ancram-Muir*, the ninth of *March*, One thousand five hundred and forty five.

AFTER the Battle, the Governor calling for the Earl of *Angus*, highly commended his Valour, Resolution and Wisdom; and thanked Sir *George Douglas*, his Brother, for his valiant Service, assuring them, that that Day's Service had cleared them of all Aspersions of Disloyalty, and Love to *England*, laid upon them by their Enemies. He thanked the Laird of *Balcleugh* also for his wife and fortunate Counsel. He gave Thanks also to the Master of *Rotbes*, the Laird of *Lochlevin*, and the rest of all the Gentlemen of Quality, acknowledging their honourable Deservings, to their perpetual Praise. Thereafter they rode altogether towards *Fedburgh*; and finding on the Fields the dead Bodies of Sir *Ralph Ivers*, and Sir *Bryan Latoun*, he commanded them to be buried, of their Corps to be given to their Friends, saying, *Their Taking of Seisin has been no less unfortunate than unformal*. They supped that Night in *Fedburgh*, upon the Provision that had been made for the *English*-Men; and, the next Day, caused a Herald to proclaim, that all the Lands of *Scotland*, which had been conquered by King *Harry*, were now redeemed by the Help of God: And therefore, that all that had been forced to take on the *Red Cross*, as Subjects to *England*, should now renounce the same, and return to their due Allegiance to the Crown of *Scotland*, and have a Remission for all bygone. Some counselled the Governor to ride forward to *Wark* and *Norham*, which were forsaken by the *English*-Men for Fear: But, in regard of the small Number, and Want of Artillery, he returned to *Edinburgh*.

KING *Harry*, hearing of this Discomfiture, was highly discontent; but he was encouraged by the Duke of *Norfolk* putting him in Mind of the variable Success of Battles, according to God's Providence; that, as the *Scots* had gotten the better now, so the next (as oftentimes before) should fall to them; that there were Men enough to the Fore in *England*. Hereby the King being confirmed, without any Fear of the *Scots*, past forward to *France* to have his Pension.

THERE was an Ambassador, at this Time, sent from *Scotland* to *France*, to shew the King what had befallen, and to crave Supply from him against the King of *England*, whom they expected to come in Revenge of this Overthrow. This Ambassador had also Commission to accuse the Earl of *Lennox*, that he had broken the King's Direction; especially in the Distribution of the Money which the King had sent, and  
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to lay many other false Accusations to his Charge, to make him odious to the *French King*.

THE King of *France*, informed of the King of *England's* Enterprize against him, sent, notwithstanding, *Monsieur Montgomery de Lorge*, with a hundred Men at Arms, and three thousand Footmen, to confirm the *Scottish-Men*, and to raise an Army in *Scotland*, to draw back the *English King* out of *France*, and to try the Cause of the Earl of *Lennox* his Banishment. He landed in *Scotland* the ninth Day of *July*, in the Year forelaid; and, shewing his Letters to the Council and Governor, procured an Army of the best of the Nobility and Gentry, to be hastily levied, to the Number of fifteen thousand Men; who, convening at *Kaddingtoun*, joyned with the *French*, and past forward to *Bargany-Taugh*, over against *Wark*, where they encamped the Space of ten Days, and sending forth, every Day, a Part of the Host, they wasted and spoiled all within six Miles. The *French-Men* and my Lord *Hume* call earnestly with the Governor to pass over *Tweed*, and besiege *Wark*; but he refused, in respect he was destitute of great Artillery, and other Necessaries for a Siege. So the Army disbanded the twelfth day of *August*, One thousand five hundred and forty five. Some of the *French-Men* stayed in *Edinburgh*, some were sent to *St. Andrews* to winter.

*Monsieur de Lorge* went to *Stirling* to be informed anent the Earl of *Lennox* his Banishment: And, having received clear Information of all Things by such as knew the Matter perfectly, he sharply reproved the Cardinal, That, contrary his Promise whereby he allured that young Nobleman to leave *France*, where he lived in great Credit, he had mocked and disappointed him. Hereon the Cardinal, enraged, after hot Words, gave *Monsieur de Lorge* Lie before the Queen's Presence; who immediately returned the Cardinal a Box on the Ear; and, if other Men had not parted them, he had presently stabbed him, called him *Falſe Whore's Son Priest*, who had made the *French King* to spend his Money in vain, and, by his false relations, had put the Earl out of his Favour. And albeit the Queen created the Cardinal to give Place for a Time, till she might reconcile the Matter; yet *Monsieur de Lorge* would never consent thereto, nor could come in the Town or Palace where the Cardinal was. But divers of his Men were kindly entreated and propined with Horſes and rawks in *St. Andrews*, till much of the Winter was past, at what time he returned Home with them to *France*.

THE Cardinal, perceiving his Favour with the Queen and Governor to be diminished, and the Earl of *Angus* to be highly advanced for his Valour and Wisdom, he set his Intent to bind the Governor to his Opinion, and procured his eldest Son, as also my Lord *Ruthven*, and sundry other Gentlemen their Sons to be given him to be kept at *St. Andrews*, as Hostages and Pledges, that the Governor should be ruled by the Cardinal in all Affairs of the State. To this Effect, he invited him to *St. Andrews* to *Yule*, where he entertained him most sumptuously the Space of twenty Days. After which he held a Council with the Clergy, in the *Black-Friers* at *Edinburgh*, the twenty sixth of *January*, One thousand

and five hundred forty six, for establishing the ancient Liberty of the Kirk, and Reformation of some notorious Faults of the Clergy.

THESE Purposes taking small Effect, they were informed that Mr. *George Wisheart*, a Preacher of the Gospel, was in the Laird of *Ormistoun's* Houle, within seven Miles to *Edinburgh*. They, having a special Malice against him, sent to apprehend him :. But the Laird of *Ormistoun* made many Shifts and Delays to get him convoyed away safe. The Cardinal, informed hereof, forced the Governor, against his Will, to ride forth with him about Midnight, and closed the House round about. The Laird, notwithstanding, refused to deliver him, till the Earl of *Bothwell* came and was Cautioner, upon his Faith and Honour, to keep him safe. Nevertheless, this facile Earl was enticed by the Cardinal to render him into his Hands ; who carried him to *St. Andrews*, and imprisoned him in the Sea-Tower. But, from that Time forth, the Earl *Bothwell* prospered never, neither any of his Affairs.

IN the End of *February*, the Queen, Governor, Cardinal and Lords held a Convention at *St. Johnston*. There they caused hang four honest Men for eating of a Cole on *Friday* ; and drowned a young Woman, because she refused to pray to our Lady in her Birth. These Sentences being pronounced by the Earl of *Argyle*, Justice-general, at the Cardinal's Instigation, from that Day to his Death, he was ever diseased, both in Body and Spirit.

IN a Convention of the Lords which followed shortly thereafter at *Edinburgh*, diverse of the Lords voted the Cardinal's Death, for his Tyranny and Persecution of God's Servants ; but he escaped, through the great Confluence of People, and specially the Barons of *Fife*. At his Return to *St. Andrews*, he convocate an Assembly of the Clergy for condemning Mr. *George Wisheart* of Heresy, and sent to the Governor for a Commission and Judge-Criminal to sit upon him. When this Message came to the Governor, and he had almost consented thereto, Sir *David Hamilton* of *Prestoun* began to dissuade him, saying, *I marvel, Sir, for what Reason you thus consent to the Murder of the Preachers of Christ's Evangel, whereof you have been a Professor yourself ; seeing you yourself have commanded and desired all Men to read and exercise the Old and New Testaments, which is the only Dittay against Mr. George Wisheart. You are now, by the Grace of God, advanced to the Place of a King in Scotland ; you ought therefore to honour God who hath honoured you, by procuring a free Passage to his Word through this Realm ; which, if you neglect, trust not to have so good Success in your Affairs as before you have found. Remember how God rent the Kingdom from Saul, and gave it to David, for his Disobedience.*

By this friendly Admonition the Governor being moved, wrote to the Cardinal to continue the Accusation of Mr. *George*, till he spake with him ; which if he did not, his Blood be upon his Head ; for he would not consent to his Condemnation.

THE

THE Cardinal, inflamed with this Answer, hastned the more to the Execution of his Purpose. He being therefore brought out of the Castle, to the Abbay-Kirk, to be examined and accused, the Sub-Prior, Dean *John Winram* Doctor in Divinity, made a Sermon upon the thirteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, discoursing of the Definition, Causes and Remedies of Heresy very orthodoxally. After Sermon, Mr. *George Wisheart* was set up in the Pulpit, and over against him was set Mr. *John Lawder*, with a long Roll full of Maledictions and forged Articles of Dittay, which he read against Mr. *George*, uttering withal most bitter and despiteful Railings and Threatnings. To the which Accusation in general, and to every particular Article, he answered very modestly, and withal very pithily. Notwithstanding, the Cardinal and Prelates incontinent condemned him of Heresy, and adjudged him to be burnt. Thereafter, he being led back to the Castle till the Fire should be prepared, the next Morning the Cardinal sent some Priests and Friers to whom he should make his Confession. He answered, *That he had nothing to do with them; but if the godly Man, who had made the Sermon the Day before, would come to him, he would open his Mind to him.* Hereupon, the Sub-Prior being sent to him, and acknowledging his Innocency, after many Tears, and some Conference, he required if Mr. *George* would have his Sacrament. *Yea, gladly,* (said he) *if I might have it as Christ instituted it.* Then the Sub-Prior returned to the Bishops, and shewed them that he had conferred with Mr. *George*, who had taken it upon his Soul, that he was innocent of all that was laid to his Charge, and that he should die guiltless thereof. The Cardinal, commoved herewith, answered, *Well, Sir, and you, we know what a Man you are seven Years ago.* The Sub-Prior asked, if they would consent that Mr. *George* should have the Sacrament. The Bishops, after Consultation, concluded, *That, since he was condemned as a Heretick, he should have no Benefit of the Kirk.* With this Answer the Sub-Prior returned to Mr. *George*; and, having promised to pray each one for the other, they parted with shedding of Tears. Meantime, the Captain and the Gentlemen who were with him, being to dine, asked if Mr. *George* would eat with them. He answered, *With a good Will, and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive ye are good Men and godly; and that this shall be my last Meat on Earth: But I exhort you, that ye would give me Audience, with Silence, for a little Time, while I bless this Meat, which we shall eat as Brethren in Christ; and thereafter I will take my Leave of you.* So, the Table being covered, and Bread set thereupon, Mr. *George* discoursed Half an Hour of Christ's last Supper, Death and Passion; exhorting them to leave Malice and Envy, and to fix Love and Charity in their Hearts one towards another, as the Members of Christ. Thereafter he blessed the Bread and Drink, and ate and drank himself, and desired the rest to do so; for they should drink no more with him; for he was to taste a bitter Cup, and that only for the Preaching of the Gospel, and Zeal to the Glory of God: *But* (said he) *pray ye for me, and I for you, that our Meeting may be in the Joys of Heaven, with our Father, since there is nothing in Earth but Anxiety and Sorrow.* Having thus said, he gave Thanks to God, and retired to his Devotion.

MEANTIME the Artillery of the Castle was charged, and laid to the Wall-Heads, and Cushions and green Cloths spread thereon, for the Cardinal and Bishops to sit upon; and all the Gentlemen commanded to stand about the Scaffold in Armour. During this mean Time, Mr. George was discoursing to the Captain of sundry Fore-Tokens of Things to come, which he had seen. *For there appeared (said he) in the North-East, a great Fire upon the Sea, which, moving to and fro, at length came upon the City of St. Andrews, and, lighting upon the Castle, brake asunder; which, he thought, did portend the Wrath of God to seize shortly, not only on that wicked Man who was Lord of that Castle, but also upon the City.* He saw also a great misty and smoky Cloud arise in the *South-East*, and move forward till it came just above *Dunpenderlaw*, beside *Haddingtoun*; and, having stayed there for a Quarter of an Hour, it divided it self so, that the one Part stood right above *Haddingtoun*; the other Half moved *North-West*, till it came above the Kirk of *Liverask*, and there appeared like Blood descending out of the Firmament; which he said, in his Judgment, portended, That there should be a Council holden upon *Dunpenderlaw*, which should occasion much Trouble to *Scotland*, and procure much Bloodshed, especially a great Wrack to the Town of *Haddingtoun*; and all by the Occasion of that wicked Man, who stopt the Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *England*; which he prayed the Lord to forgive him.

As he was discoursing these Things, the Officers and Tormentors brought him forth to the Fire, which was prepared without the Castle-Gate against the *West* Block-House, where the Bishops might ly on the Wall-Heads, and see this Sacrifice. He, being then bound on the Scaffold with Iron-Chains, made his Prayer to Almighty God for his afflicted Church, in Danger to be devoured by ravening Wolves; notwithstanding God, according to his Promise, would, in his own Time, confound all the Enemies thereof. With this, having recommended his Spirit to God, the Tormentors applied the Fire to the Powder, which kindled most hideously; and, withal, there came so vehement a Blast of Wind from the Sea, and so great a Cloud of Rain brake from the Sky, that the Noise put all Men in great Fear. It was so forcible, that it blew down the Stone Walls, and them that sat thereon, to the Number of two hundred Persons, which fell about the Draw-Well in the Bishop's Yard, and diverse fell into it, whereof two were drowned immediately. The Captain exhorting Mr. George to remember of God, he answered stoutly, notwithstanding of the Fire, and said moreover, *Captain, God forgive that Man, that thus persecutes God's Servants; within few Days he shall ly as shamefully, on that same Place, as now he lies glorious.* When he was now burnt all beneath the Middle, they desired him to remember on God, and make a Sign thereof. Which he did, leaping up a Foot high in the Fire, to the great Joy of all those that favoured God's Word. But the Clergy discharged all Men, under the Pain of Cursing, to pray for him, as being a Heretick. This Martyrdom was committed the first of *March*, One thousand five hundred and forty six; whereof the Clergy was highly puffed up with Pride and Insolence, which shortly turned

turned to Mischief. The Cardinal and Archbishop, who before had been at Enmity, were that Day reconciled.

THE Cardinal, immediately thereafter, past to *Arbroth*, where he married his Daughter on the Master of *Crawford*, with great Solemnity. At his Return to *St. Andrews*, being informed that there was a Navy prepared in *England* to destroy the Coast of *Scotland*, especially of *Fife*; for providing Remedy hereof, he sent for all the Gentlemen and Barons of *Fife*, especially my Lords *Rotbes* and *Lindesay*, the Lairds of *Weemys*, *Lochlevin*, *Lundie*, *Largo*, *Allardes* and *St. Ninians*, charging them, against an appointed Day, to be ready to ride with him and visit the Coast, for providing Fortifications for Resistance of the *English*. But, in the mean Time, *Norman Lesly* came to him for certain Business; upon the which they fell in Altercation of Words, both uncharitable and unchristian. *Norman*, departing to his Lodging, returned the sixth of *May*. In the Morning, betwixt four and five Hours, he with his Complices came to the Castle-Gate, and, gripping the Porter in Hands, seized upon the Place. *Peter Carmichael* past up to the *East Block-House* Chamber, where the Cardinal lay; who, being let in, stabbed him immediately. The Cry running through the City, his Friends came rushing forward to ladder the Walls and rescue him, thinking that he was alive. They that were within, to assure them of the contrary, shewed his dead Body to the People upon the Wall; where, when it was lying, one called *Guthry* pissed in his Mouth. At this Sight many remembered the Prophecy of *Mr. Wisheart*, which had foretold this long before.

THE Governor and Queen were highly commoved hereat; therefore they caused summon the Doers of this Fact, to compear within six Days to underly the Law; and, upon their Disobeyance, denounced them to the Horn. Whereupon these, who thought themselves accessory to the Slaughter, entred into the Castle, and fortified the same; viz. The Lairds of *Grange* and *Pitmillie*, *Mr. Henry Primrose* (*Balmaves*) the old Parson *George Lesly*, *Sir John Auchinleck*, and these who had been in the Castle at the first. Many also who had nothing to do with the Slaughter, but feared the Governor and Queen's ill Will. These Men, confident of the Strength of the Place, refused to obey the Authority, and contemptuously rejected all Offers of Appointment to be made with them; and sent Messengers to *England* for Support.

By this Time Winter approached; and the Governor, being daily called upon by the Queen and Court, at length resolved to siege the Castle; and brought thither an Army, with two great Canons, *Crook-Mow* and *Deaf-Mug*: But, after three Months Siege, the Pest arising in the Town, he was constrained to leave his Purpose without Effect. Hereby these that were in the Castle became exceeding insolent, and oppressed all the Country about, with spoiling of Goods and ravishing of Women, notwithstanding of the manifold Admonitions of sundry godly Men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to pass thereafter.

IN

IN the *West Borders* the *English-Men* had taken many of the Strengths that were in my Lord *Maxwel's* Bounds, and had utterly wasted the Country; wherefore *Robert Henry*, Lord *Maxwel*, came to *Edinburgh* to the Queen and Governor to entreat for Supply. Hereupon the Governor assembled an Army at *Peebles*, the twentieth Day of *July*, One thousand five hundred and forty seven; with whom he past forward to *Megetland*; where, besides *Guddiescleugh*, the Lords fenced a Justice-Court in the Queen's Name and the Governor's, and accused the Earl of *Rothes* for the Slaughter of the Cardinal; who compearing personally, the Matter was put to the Cognition of an Assize of fifteen, all Lords, by whom he was absolved.

THE Host past forward to *Langhope* Castle, and took it by three Days Seige, and brought home the Captains thereof Prisoners to *Edinburgh*; where the Governor was informed, That the *French* Navv, being six Gallies, and two great Ships, were delcrid at *St. Ebb's Head*, sailing for *St. Andrews*. The Governor, well content hereof, hasted him to *St. Andrews*, with the Gentlemen of *Fife*, *Angus* and *Strathern*, and welcomed the *French* Captain, Prior of *Capua*, directed from the *French* King to besiege the Castle, and to bring the Keepers of it Prisoners to him. They clapt about the House so hastily and unexpectedly, that many were closed out, and diverse were closed in against their Will. Then they mounted their Ordnance, both upon the College-Steeple, and also upon the Walls of the Abbay-Kirk, wherewith they condemned the Castle close; so that no man durst walk therein, or go up to the Wall-Head. The Captain told the Governor, that they had been unexpert Warriours, who had not mounted their Ordnance on the Steeple-Heads in that Manner; and that he wondred of the Keepers of the Castle, that they had not first broken down the Heads of the Steeples. He caused also the great Battery to be laid to the Castle, the two *Scottish* Canons, and six *French*: And, to prevene Slaughter, he devised, that the Canons should pass down the Streets by Ingynes, without any Man with them; which Thing when the *Italian* Ingyneer, which had been sent from *England* for the Support of these within the Castle, perceived, he said, that now they had to do with Men of War, and therefore had need to take heed to themselves. They answered, that they should defend their Castle against *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, all three. But the Battery, within few Hours, made such Breaches in the Walls, that, despairing of their Strength, after Consultation, they yielded the Castle and themselves to the King of *France*. The *French* Captain entred and spoiled the Castle very rigorously; wherein they found great Store of Vivers, Clothes, Armour, Silver and Plate, which, with the Captives, they carried away in their Gallies. The Governor, by Advice of the Council, demolished the Castle, lest it should be a Receptacle for Rebels. This befel in the Year One thousand five hundred and forty seven, in the Month of *August*.

AT this Time the Governor was advertised of the Coming of the *English* Army, directed against *Scotland* for to seek Performance of the Condition of Marriage between the young Queen of *Scotland*, and their young

young King *Edward VI.* wherefore he sent Proclamations through all *Scotland* and the Isles, to all Manner of Man betwixt fixty and sixteen, Spiritual and Temporal, the Father as well as the Son, to compear at *Edinburgh* in their best Array, with a Month's Viſuals, to paſs with the Governor, for the Defence of the Realm, againſt the *English*.

THE *Scottiſh* Army accordingly aſſembled upon the *West Side* of *Esk*, above *Muſſelburgh*, and were muſtered to the Number of forty thouſand Men, whereof ten thouſand were in the Vanguard under the Earl of *Angus*; other ten thouſand were in the Rear with the Earl of *Huntley*. The Governor himſelf commanded the Steil or Battle, wherein were twenty thouſand Men, conſiſting of the Gentlemen of *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratbern*, *Stirling-Shire*, and the whole Boroughs; the Earl of *Argyle* and *West-Highland-Men* were in his right Wing, and in the left *Macleod*, *Macgregor*, and the Isles Men.

THE *English-Men* had been now four Nights in *Scotland*, and were encamped betwixt *Preſtoun* and *Tanent*. They, ſeeing the *Scottiſh* Army of ſo great Number, and ſo well appointed, were very loth to hazard the Battle: And therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to the Governor, with very courteous Demands, entreating the Governor, the Queen and Council of *Scotland*, as *Chriſtians*, to keep their promiſed Condition of Peace and Marriage, accorded upon betwixt their late King *Hary* and them, under the great Seals of both the Kingdoms.

THE Governor having rejected this Demand, the Protector of *England*, conſidering what great Bloodſhed, and other Inconveniencies ſhould follow, if the two Armies ſhould joyn in Battle; therefore ſent again the next Morn to the Governor and Council, entreating, that if they would not fulfil the Contract of Peace and Marriage, for the preſent; yet they ſhould keep the young Queen ſtill in *Scotland*, under the Government of her own Lords, and not deliver her to any foreign Nation in Hope of Marriage; neither yet contract her with *France*, nor any other Realm, for the Space of ten Years, while ſhe might be of lawful Age to chooſe a Husband to herſelf, by the Advice of the Nobility; and, in the mean Time, Peace and Reſt to be kept within the two Realms; which if the Governor would condition, he promiſed, That whatever Skaith they had done in *Scotland* at that Journey, he ſhould cauſe Recompence to be made thereof incontinent.

THESE Letters coming to the Governor, he revealed the ſame only to his Brother *John*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, *George Dune* Abbot of *Dumfermling*, *Archibald Beaton*, and Mr. *Hugh Rigg* of *Carbary*; by whole Advice he concealed the Protector's Letters and reaſonable Offers from the Nobility, for Fear leſt they had embraced them; and cauſed a Rumour be ſpread through the Camp, That the Protector of *England* had brought an Army into *Scotland* to carry away the young Queen perforce, and to conquer the Realm.

THE *English*-Men, being loth to give Occasion of so great Bloodshed as was to follow if they joyned Battle, concluded to return Home peaceably, without doing any Harm to the Realm of *Scotland*; especially seeing they were destitute of Viſuals of their own, and could not be able to purchase any in *Scotland*.

THIS Report coming to the Governor and his Council, made them very proud; so that, by their stubborn Insolence that Day, and not by the Manhood of *England*, great Mischief befel to the Army and Commonwealth of *Scotland*: For the Governor incontinent sent the Heralds through the Army, charging all Men to pass forward in Order of Battle. The Earl of *Angus*, knowing that the *English* Army could not stay in the Place for Want of Viſuals, marched at great Leisure, resolving to set upon them in the Flight. Whereupon the Governor sent the Lyon-Herald again, commanding him, under the Pain of Treason, to march forward with Speed. Which Charge he obeyed, and past over the Water of *Esk*, and stood by-west the Kirk, till the Governor and the whole Host came forward. The Protector of *England* seeing this, by the Advice of the Earl of *Warwick*, commanded the Lord *Gray* of *England*, Captain of the great Horsemen, to pass forward on my Lord *Angus*, and charge his Battle with the barded Horse and Demi-Lances; fearing his Battle most of all, as whom they knew to be a valiant Warrior; and therefore they commanded my Lord *Gray* to hold him off till the Footmen of *England* should be retired out of Danger. The Earl of *Angus*, seeing the Lord *Gray* come against him with three thousand Demi-Lances, caused his Men receive the Encounter resolutely at close Order, pitching their Spears in the Ground, and holding them fast like a Bulwark against the Enemy; so that their Spears, being longer than the *English*-Mens, at the first Shock they rushed to the Ground the Number of two hundred both Horse and Men; the rest fled back, and shewed the Protector, that it was as impossible to break the *Scottish* Vanguard where they stood, as if they were a Stone-Wall.

THE Protector was so discouraged with this Report, that he was resolved to flee; and desired one of the chief of the Borderers to convoy him the safest Way. But the Earl of *Warwick* found great Fault with this Purpose, saying, That he marvelled of the Protector's Lack of Courage in so dangerous a Time, who had shown himself wise and forward in all Times bygone: *But I vow (said he) if you shall flee away and abandon the King of England's Army and Canon, I shall appeal you before the Council of England as a false Traitor and Coward, who would lose so many worthy Footmen as are here, to be overtroden by the Scots: But, for my Part, I vow to alight on Foot, and abide with them, for any Thing that I have seen as yet.*

AT this Time the Earl of *Angus*'s Battle was coming forward, and had beaten down sundry of the Lord *Gray*'s great Horsemen, and had left them behind them; which the *Argyle*-Men perceiving, they broke away, and run to the Spoil. By this the *English*-Men were returning back, when one in the Governor's Battle, seeing the *Argyle*-Men out of Array,



Array, cried, *Ey, fy, Treason*. The Master of the *Scottish* Ordnance also, discharging a Field-Piece, killed therewith the Master of the *English* Ordnance, and broke the Axel-Tree and Wheels of the Canon which he was going to shoot. The *Highland*-Men hearing the Noise hereof, and a great Dust arising out of the fallow Earth and red Land, through which they were marching, so that none could see another, they brake Order and began to flee. The Boroughs, seeing that, fled also. A very strange Accident, for the *English* and *Scots* were fleeing both at an Instant.

THE Protector and Earl of *Warwick*, seeing the great Battle of *Scots* retiring back, at the first, believed it to be a Train to draw them in an Ambush, because they saw the other Battles standing still in Order: But so soon as they perceived them to cast away their Weapons and Armour, then they cried out, *All is our own, the Scots are fleeing*; and, sounding their Trumpets, came forward together upon the Earl of *Angus's* Battle; who, seeing so great a Number unexpectedly coming upon them, returned toward the Earl of *Huntley's* Battle, to have Help of them. At this Time there fell so great a Rain, and so thick a Mist, that none could know another; so that the Earl of *Huntley's* Men believed the Vanguard to be the Enemy; and therefore resisted them, so that diverse were slain. But the *Scots*, having cast away their Armour, were not able to resist the *English*, who made the Onset very furiously both with Horse and Foot. So that there were slain of the *Scots* to the Number of ten thousand Men, most Part of whom were Lords, Barons, Gentlemen and honest Burgessees, with many Kirkmen. Many also were drowned in the Water of *Esk* in their inconsiderate Flight. Amongst the rest were slain the Lord *Fleming*, the Master of *Erskine*, the Master of *Graham*, the Master of *Livingston*, the Master of *Ogilvy*, the Master of *Buchan*, with many other Lords and great Barons. Of *English* Men were slain twelve-score of Horsemen by the Earl of *Angus*, among whom was the Lord *Gray* of *England*, and his eldest Son. Many were taken Prisoners, whereof some were had in *England*, and some were ransomed in *Scotland*. This unhappy Battle was foughten the eighteenth Day of *September*, One thousand five hundred and forty seven; wherein, through the wilful Milgovernment of the Governor and his privy Council, there besel great Miserie to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, against the Mind of the Nobility, and that in God's just Judgment, that these, who refused Peace, should fall in Confusion, through unjust War, and Breach of Covenant: For, after this Time, the Governor never received his former Reputation, till, at length, he was put by his Place and Authority. The Queen-Mother, albeit she was sore grieved at the Slaughter of so many Noblemen; yet she was not evil content of the Governor's Loss of Reputation, and foresaw an Occasion to send her Daughter to *France*, as shortly besel.

THE *English* Army came forward to *Leith*, and remained there a While, every Day passing forth and foraging the Country, taking some Houses, and carrying away many Captives, there being none to make Resistance. The same Month the Governor and Queen held a Council in

in *Stirling*; wherein it was resolved to send the young Queen to *France*, for Fear of the *English*-Men (which they needed not to be afraid of) and dispatched an Ambassador to *France*, shewing the King the Estate of their Affairs, and desiring Support against *England*, promising withal to send their young Queen so soon as Time could serve. The *French* were glad of the Offer; yet they were slow in sending Supply to *Scotland*.

MEANWHILE the *English* fortified *Haddingtoun*, and put a strong Garison in it; which they kept three Years. They fortified also *Inch-Keith* and *Broughty*; and built a great Strength near to *Broughty*, upon *Belgillo-Law*; and infested the Country so, that, six Miles about them, there was no Land laboured but it paid Duty to them. The Garison of *Haddingtoun* also wasted all the Country ten Miles about the Town. Their Ships also lay all that Year in *Tay*-Mouth, betwixt *Broughty* and *Dundee*; so that the Gentlemen of *Fife* were constrained to watch and ward continually, for Safety of their Goods. At length, the Gentlemen of the Country, being advertised that the *English* had compacted with sundry *Scots*, to land, by their Condu&t, at the *East-Ferry*, and to burn the same, and *Luchers*, with the Country adjacent, and to be conducted by them safely back to their Ships; Lord *James* Prior of *St. Andrews*, *George* Earl of *Rothes*, *John* Lord *Lindesay*, *Andrew* Wood of *Largo*, and diverse other Gentlemen, with the Provost and Burgesses of *St. Andrews*, came secretly at the Break of Day, and lay in Ambush near to *Partincrag*, till the *English* were landed, and begun to forage the Country. Then they brake forth betwixt them and their Ships, and slew to the Number of eightscore of their best Men of War and Mariners; of whom they had great Missing thereafter in guiding of their Ships; so that they had no great Desire thereafter to land in *Fife*.

ABOUT the End of the Year the Governor besieged the Fort of *Broughty*, for three Months Space; but came no Speed; whereof some lay the Blame upon the Treason of his Gunners corrupted by the *English*.

THE Siege being raised, these of the Fort became exceeding insolent, and spoiled and burnt the Country at their Pleasure; and among the rest the Town of *Dundee*, and the Castle of *Wester-Pury*, with the Villages adjacent. The Garison of *Inch-Keith* also spoiled *Leith* and *Kinghorn*, and infested all that Part of the Coast; so that the Queen and Governor began to fear worse to follow: And therefore called the privy Council to determine anent the sending away of the young Queen to *France*. Many of the Nobility voted against that Resolution, as highly prejudicial to the Realm and Liberty of *Scotland*, which hereby should become a Province to *France*; and, beside that, should continually have sore Wars with *England*. But the greater Part, fearing that they should not be able to recover the Realm out of the *English*-Mens Hands; and many having a blind Love to *France*; others being bribed by Gifts and Promises from *France*: It was determinate, that the young Queen should be sent away to *France*. She shipped, at the *West Seas*, in *April* One thousand five hundred and forty eight; the Lord *James* her Brother,

ther, the Lord *Erskine*, with sundry Barons and Gentlemen being in her Company.

AT this Time the *French* Army landed in *Leith*, to the Number of six thousand Men, viz. A thousand Horsemen and Men at Arms, and five thousand Footmen; of the which there were three thousand *Dutch*-Men, under the Commandment of the *Ringrave*. *Monsieur d'Esse* was Commander of this Army; which did little Good in *Scotland*, but spent the King of *France's* Money. They remained in *Edinburgh* a certain Time after their Landing, which was in *May*, in the Year foresaid; while Word came of the Approach of the *English* Army, to the Number of forty thousand Men, conducted by the Earl of *Hereford*, who avowed, before King *Edward*, to ride as far within *Scotland* as *Pinkie*; notwithstanding of the *French* Army.

THE Governor and *French*-Men came to *Musselburgh* to meet them, who were at *Fawside* above *Pinkie*. The *French* and *Dutch* advancing forward in the Vanguard; the *English* perceiving their good Order, and a great Army of *Scots* behind them, they retired in good Order toward *Haddingtoun*. The *French*-Men would not follow them, alledging, that it was not their Custom to chase any but those who had fled in Field.

THESE *English*-Men had victualled *Haddingtoun*; and, having thus shewn themselves, came to *Aberlady*, and shipped in some of their ablest Gentlemen to pass over and spoil the Coast of *Fife*. They came first to *Anstruther* and *Pittenweem*, but fearing to land there, these Towns being so populous, they came *West* against *St. Ninians*, where they landed, thinking to march on Foot to *Pittenweem*, and fortify the same with Men and Victuals, and to spoil the Country. As they were coming to *St. Ninians-Muir* in arrayed Battle, with some Artillery brought from their Ships, Lord *James* Commendator of *St. Andrews*, the Lairds of *Weemys* and *Largo*, with sundry others of the Country, when they saw the Fires arising, came posting thither, and, joyning with the common People who had convened to stop their Landing, skirmished so hotely with them, that they chased them back to their Ships, and slew a great Number of them, beside many that were drowned and taken Captives. There died to the Number of six hundred and twelve, and an hundred Prisoners taken. This befel in *June*, in the Year foresaid.

ABOUT this Time the Governor and *French*-Men past to *Haddingtoun*, with the whole Army of *Scotland*, but did no Good. The Town was well fortified and furnished with all Necessaries, and stoutly defended; and, on the other Part, it was but flakely pursued by the *French*, who had now gotten the Prey they desired.

IN Winter, being returned to *Edinburgh*, they behaved themselves exceeding insolently. One Day the Provost of *Edinburgh*, *William Hamilton* Laird of *Stenhouse*, who was also Captain of the Castle, was commanding two *French*-Men to Prison, for raising a Fray in the Town; the *French*-Men, assembling in great Numbers, encountred those who

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were with the Provost, being unarmed, they killed the Provost himself, *James Hamilton* his Son, *David Kirk*, *David Barber*, *William Chapman*, Mr. *William Stuart*, *William Purves*, and *Elizabeth Stuart* a Woman. The *French King*, being informed of their Insolency and Misgovernment, sent in *Scotland* a noble Man of War, named *Monsieur de Termes*, to command the Army. *Monsieur d'Esse*, who had the Charge of the Army before, ere he departed, took the Fort of *Inch-Keith* from the *English*. *De Termes* also besieged the Castle of *Broughy*, and shortly won it, and the other Fort beside it.

THE Garison of *Haddington* could not be well supplied with Victuals; for these who brought it, either in their Coming or Departure, were pursued, and many of them taken and slain, especially in the Day's Chase. They received so great Damage and Slaughter, that, on the first of *October*, One thousand five hundred and forty-nine, they burnt the Town, and returned Home: So that, by the *French Assistance*, *Scotland* enjoyed Peace; especially because the *English* had civil Wars among themselves: For, at this Time, the Earl of *Warwick* took the Protector, sitting at the Council-Table, and carried him to the Tower, where he was beheaded; and, not long after, young King *Edward* was pitifully put to Death (as is thought) by Poison; and the Earl of *Warwick* beheaded by Queen *Mary*, who succeeded to her Brother.

DURING this Peace (which lasted five Years) the Lord *Semple* slew the Lord *Sanguar*, *William Crichton*, in the Governor's Chamber; yet he escaped Punishment by Means of *John Hamilton* Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Brother to the Governor; who entertained the Lady *Stenhouse*, commonly called Lady *Gilon*, Daughter to this *Robert Lord Semple*, as his Concubine. The Governor also, by Perswasion of his Brother the Bishop, held Justice Airs through all *Scotland*; in the which, under Pretence of Justice, most avariciously taking Bribes and Fines from Thieves and honest Men indifferently, they lost the Hearts of all good Men.

AT the same Time, the Laird of *Reath*, *John Melvil*, an ancient and honourable Baron, was taken by the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and beheaded at *Edinburgh*; his Head set upon the Tolbooth, and his Lands dealt to the Governor's Friends; for sending of a missive Bill into *England*, in favour of his Friend being Captive there. The Queen, perceiving that, by these Proceedings, the Governor was become exceeding odious to all the People, thought good to stir her Time; and, passing into *France* with certain of the Nobility of *Scotland*, she obtained of the *French King* to be made Regent of *Scotland*, instead of the Governor, who had so misguided the State, having no Respect to the publick Well, but to his own Profit and Advancement of his Friends. To this Effect the *French King* appointed *Monsieur d'Osell* to be his Ambassador in *Scotland*, and to give her Advice how to rule the Realm, to the King of *France's* Pleasure, and her Daughter's Profit. He was a Man of singular good Judgment, and great Experience, especially in Warfare.

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AT her Return, a Parliament was holden at *Edinburgh*, wherein the Queen prevailed so far with the Nobility, that they consented that she should be made Regent of *Scotland* in the Governor's Place, whereunto many of the Governor's near Friends were brought to consent, by great Gifts, Pensions and Promises.

IN this Parliament, the Governor rode up, from the Abbey to the Tolbooth, with the Lords and Heralds, having the Crown, Sword and Sceptre born before him. The Queen and *Monsieur d' Oysel* rode up apart by themselves, and stayed till the Parliament was fenced; wherein the Governor discharged himself of his Authority, and the Queen was elected Regent; who rode down, having the Crown, Sword and Sceptre born before her, by the same Lords that had carried them up before the Governor; who now rode down as a private Nobleman among the rest; many remembering what had been foretold him at the Burning of Mr. *Wisheart*, That if he suffered God's Servants to be cruelly persecuted for preaching of the Gospel, which before he had professed, the Authority should be taken from him, and given to another. The King of *France* had taken upon him to content the Governor for the Over-giving of his Place; and, beside many Gifts bestowed on himself and his Friends, created him Duke of *Chattelroy*.

THE Queen, having rewarded the Noblemen of her Opinion, changed her Officers of Estate; among the rest Mr. *Rubie* was made Comptroller; who used such Rigour in his Office, that, shortly thereafter, he was deposed.

THE twenty eighth Day of *April*, *Francis II.* then *Dauphine* of *France*, Son to King *Henry II.* married *Mary*, sole Daughter and Heir to King *James* of *Scotland*, with great Pomp and Triumph, in the City of *Paris*.

IN the Month of *December*, One thousand five hundred and fifty eight, there was a Parliament holden at *Dumblane*; wherein the *French* Ambassador required of the Estates of *Scotland*, that the Imperial Crown thereof, with the Sword and Sceptre, should be sent unto *France*, that the *Dauphine* might be crowned therewith, and proclaimed King of *Scotland*; and that the Seals of *Scotland* might be broken, and new Seals made; wherein the Arms of *France* and *Scotland* might be quartered, and the Money of *Scotland* thereafter to be stamped therewith; and that it should be lawful for *French*-Men to purchase and enjoy Lands in *Scotland*, and to sail and resort to the Coasts thereof at their Pleasure; that Taxations should be taken up in the Name of the *Dauphine* of *France* and Queen of *Scotland*.

THESE Desires were granted by the Estates, by the Queen's Procurement, to the manifest Mischief of the Commonwealth, if God had not prevented the same. The Duke was not present at the concluding of these Acts, but protested to the contrary. The Earl of *Glencairn* also and the whole Barons voted to the contrary, alledging, That the Crown,  
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Sword and Sceptre should not be sent out of *Scotland*, till they saw Succession of the Queen's Body. The Seals were broken and made new; *Monsieur d' Ossel* was made Keeper of the Palace of *Lithgow*: But the Crown was delayed, and not sent over at that Time.

IN the Month of *April*, the same Year, *Walter Mill* was taken, by Sir *Heugh Curry* Priest, to the Bishop of *St. Andrews* and Sir *George Strachan*. The Bishop, on the twentieth Day of the same Month, convened the Clergy in the Abbey-Kirk of *St. Andrews*; where Frier *Maltman* preached a Sermon far from the Meaning of the Scripture and Spirit of God; which when *Walter Mill* heard, he fell on his Face, and cried out, *Alas! This Frier is not ashamed to lie*. Thereafter Mr. *Andrew Oliphant* accused him of Heresy.

*Heretick*, (said he) *why didst thou pass about through sundry Houses seducing the People to Heresy; and teaching them Charms and Enchantments, to hold them from God's Service. Verily, Brother*, (answered he) *I held no Man from the Kirk; but, contraryways, exhorted all Men to the Service of God; and, that they might understand the Work of their Salvation, I taught them the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and Ten Commandments. But, seeing thou art a Priest, why hast thou forsaken the Mass? Thou hadst the Cure of the Parish of Lunan in Angus, beside Red-Castle, from which thou fledst, and one with thee called Sir John Petry, Servant to the Lord Innermeath; and you and he were condemned by my late Lord Cardinal of Heresy, and ordained to be burnt, wherever ye might be apprehended; so that we need no further Accusation against you at this Time. Brother, indeed I served the Cure at Lunan twenty Years, with the Approbation, to this Day, of all the Parishoners, who never heard me teach erroneous Doctrine, especially my Lord Innermeath himself: But when the furious Cardinal persecuted me, and many more, for the preaching of God's Word, I was constrained to keep myself quiet, and go about asking for God's Sake, reproving Vices, and instructing People in the Grounds of Religion; for the which I am now taken and brought to this Place. The Bishop said, Wilt thou burn thy Faggot, and thy Life shall be safe? That (said he) I will not do, to confess myself to be a Heretick. I am a poor indigent Man, not caring for this World; but assured that my Reward is in Heaven. I am also of great Age, and have not Cause to fear Death. Do with me as ye think best: But it were better for you to give something for the Relief of my Wife and poor Children.*

AFTER this, the Bishop condemned him of Heresy, and kept him two Days; because they could not get a criminal Judge to condemn him to Death. Then the Bishop sent for the Provost of the Town, being, for the Time, Bailie of the Regality, and desired him to execute him to Death, as being condemned of Heresy. *I will* (said the Provost) *do any Thing that pertains to my Office, according to Justice, at your Lordship's Command: But for the innocent Servants of God, and Preachers of his Word, I will not meddle with them.* The Bishop said, *Provost, you are Bailie of my Regality, and ought to judge all such as transgress*  
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*within my Bounds. Yes (replied the Provost) and if your Lordship please, I will take him, and give him a fair Assize of temporal Men, who perhaps will absolve him. I am content (said the Bishop) you do so, and make me quit of him any Way you please.*

BUT some wise Men, who were Friends to the Provost, shewed him that it was perillous to absolve a Man condemned of Heresy by the Clergy already. The Provost, considering this, desired the Bishop to give him Leisure to advise till the Morn; which having obtained, the next Day, early in the Morning, he departed off the Town.

THE Bishop, being frustrate in this Manner, sought up and down a long Time for one to be Judge, and could find none; till at length he took one of his own Court, named *Alexander Somerzel*, a Man void of all Honesty, Religion, or Fear of God; who sat in Judgment and condemned him to the Death. But the Merchants, for the Love of this poor Servant of God, had hid all Tows, and all other Things which might serve for his Execution. He was burnt on the North-Side of the Abbey-Kirk. Being on the Scaffold, and in Derision desired to recant, he answered, with great Boldness of Spirit, *I marvel of your Rage, O Hypocrites, that so cruelly persecute God's Servants; as for me, I am fourscore and two Years old, and cannot live long by Course of Nature: But a hundred better than I shall rise out of the Ashes of my Bones, who shall scatter the proud Pack of you, Hypocrites and Persecutors of God's Servants; and who of you thinks yourself worthiest, shall not die so honest a Death as I die now. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer Death in Scotland for this Cause.*

THEREAFTER *Paul Meffan* came in Scotland, and preached in Dundee, and in sundry Gentlemens Houses in Angus; and also in Fife, especially in Cowpar, Lundie and Fawside, and sundry other. He had ministred the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Lundie and Cowpar, and caused Images and Popery to be abolished wheresoever he preached: For the which Cause, he and those who reset him, especially the Men of Dundee, were summoned to compear before the Queen and Council at Edinburgh, the twentieth of July, in the Year foresaid: But he was so assisted by temporal Men, and their earnest Sollicitation for him, that the Matter was delayed.

THE same Year there arose great Troubles in the Borders of Scotland and England, called the Quarter-Roads; in the which there was great Slaughter made on both Sides. At a Road in England were taken Captives, the Master of Marshal, the Lord Gray, the Master of Graham, with sundry Gentlemen and Barons; many also slain on both Sides. There was also imposed upon the Kirkmen and Boroughs, a Taxation of twenty four thousand Pounds, viz. Sixteen thousand Pounds upon the Clergy, and eight thousand Pounds upon the Boroughs.

UPON the eighth of November, Mary Queen of England, Daughter to King Henry VIII. departed this Life, to the great Comfort of  
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God's Servants, whom she had persecuted most cruelly. Queen *Elizabeth*, her Sister, succeeded to her.

THE Lord of *Ivers* his Brother provoked *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* to fight with him, in singular Combat on Horseback with Spears; who, keeping the Appointment, accompanied with *Monfieur d' Ossel* Lieutenant to the *French* King, and the Garison of *Haymouth*, and Mr. *Ivers* accompanied with the Governor and Garison of *Berwick*, it was discharged, under the Pain of Treason, that any Man should come near the Champions within a Flight-Shot, except one Man for either of them to bear their Spears, two Trumpets and two Lords to be Judges. When they were in Readiness, the Trumpets sounded, the Heraulds cried, and the Judges let them go. Then they encountred very fiercely: But *Grange* struck his Spear through his Adversary's Shoulder, and bare him off his Horse, being sore wounded: But whether he died or not, it is uncertain.

IN this Year began the Uproar for Religion. The Clergy, perceiving the whole Gentry and Commons bent to hear God's Word preached, were sore afraid; and held an Assembly in the *Blackfriars* of *Edinburgh*, to consult how to suppress the Protestants. They made diverse Constitutions; as, *first*, That no Man should have Benefice of the Kirk but Priests. *Secondly*. That no Kirkman should commit Whoredom; or, if he did, for the first Fault, he should pay great Sums of Money; for the second, he should lose his Benefice. To this A& opposed the Bishop of *Murray*, a great Fornicator and Adulterer, alledging, That it was as lawful to him to keep his Whore, as to the Bishop of *St. Andrews*. *Thirdly*. They made an A&, That Sir *David Lindesay's* Book should be abolished and burnt.

UNTO this Assembly came *John Erskine* of *Dun*, Commissioner for the Kirk, who solicited the Bishops, for the Love they had to God, to leave off their Persecution of God's Saints, and suffer them to worship God according to his Commandments, and to have the common Prayers in all Parish-Kirks, while further Order might be taken. This Petition the Bishops proudly rejected, thinking they had both the Queen and *French* King on their Side: And therefore, consulting with the Queen, they caused *Paul Meffan*, *John Willock*, *William Hart* (*Harlaw*) and *John Douglas*, to be summoned again to compear at *Edinburgh*, at a certain Day, as heretical Seducers of the People: But, by the Moyen of the Laird of *Dun*, they escaped, and were not summoned at that Time. Yet the Queen and Clergy were so commoved at the Preachers of the Gospel, that they broke their Promise, and caused denounce them all to the Horn, and charged sundry Barons and Gentlemen to ward for maintaining of them. Hereupon the Master of *Lindesay*, the Lairds of *Lundie* elder and younger, the Lairds of *Abbotshall* and *Newhall*, with sundry other Gentlemen of *Fife*, and also of *Angus* and *Strathern*, assembled at *St. Johnstoun*, in *April*, One thousand five hundred and fifty nine, resolving to put their Lives in Jeopardy, for the Maintenance and Propagation of the Gospel.

*John*



*John Knox* having preached openly, after Dinner they destroyed all the Idols in the Town. Thereafter, assembling on the Bridge, they cauled *John Knox* to conceive a Prayer to God Almighty to direct them to do that which might serve most for the Glory of God, and Good of his Kirk. Then they concluded to pass and demolish the Charter-House : But the Prior, suspecting their Purpose, had brought down his Tenants of the *Highlands* of *Arbole* to defend the Place. They, knowing the Hazard, desired the Prior to put their Wives and eldest Sons in their Tacks ; which if he would do, they promised to hazard their Lives in his Defence : But the Prior refused this. Then they desired the Prior to give them Wine, and of his best Drink, to encourage them ; which was also refused ; and nothing given to them but salt Salmond and small Drink ; whereby they had no Courage when they had most ado. The Congregation sent the Laird of *Moncrief*, being the Prior's Kinsman, to counsel him to leave Idolatry, and serve God according to his Word : But he refused to obey their Desire ; whereupon the Congregation past to the Charter-House, took forth the Prior, spoiled the Place, and gave the Spoil to the Poor. The next Day they cast down the Charter-House, the Gray-Friers, the Black-Friers, and Friers of *Tullilum*.

THE Queen, who was at *Stirling*, hearing of these News, was highly incensed ; and, having sent for the Duke, she said to him, *I marvel of you, my Lord, who art second Person in Scotland, having none between you and the Crown but my Daughter, who as yet has no Issue, that you put not to your Hand, to take Order with these who, in this Manner, destroy the Policy of this Kingdom. You know I am a Woman, and ignorant of the Disposition and Nature of Scottish-Men : But it is your Brother's Duty and yours to maintain the Liberty of the Kirk.*

THE Duke, allured with these Speeches, joyned his Forces with her, and marched forward to *St. Johnstoun*. The first Night they came to *Auchterarder*, where they remained eight Days, till Artillery came from *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*. These of *St. Johnstoun*, understanding the Queen's Fury against them, gathered all that they might in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Strathern* and *Merns*, with some of *Lothian* ; and sent a Post in Haste to their Friend and Brother the Earl of *Glencairn*, desiring him to come in all Haste for the Defence of God's Cause. The Earl incontinent, with so many as he could get together, sped himself to come to them, in all possible Haste, with eight hundred Men.

THE Queen informed of the Earl's Coming, and that the Congregation was of greater Power than they were indeed ; and that they were all resolute to fight it out to the Extremity ; and, in Token hereof, each of them had put six Quarters of a Cord about his Neck, wherewith he should be hanged if he did flee ; and, if they got the Victory, they should hang so many of the *French* as they might overtake ; and that they were standing in the *Inch*, with three thousand Men in arrayed Battle ; and had put the Earl of *Glencairn* to defend the Town with two thousand Men, who had great Enmity against the Duke. The Queen, and those who were with her, being afraid at these News, knowing that they had not

not Forces enough against them, sent the Earl of *Bothwell* and Lord *James* Prior of *St. Andrews* to the Congregation to take up the Matter. The Queen chose the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *James* to treat for her; and the Congregation chose the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Laird of *Dun*.

THESE four agreed the Matter on these Conditions. *First*. That the Congregation should leave the Town void to the Queen, to enter thereinto with so many *Scots* as she pleased. *Secondly*. That no *French-Man* should enter the Town, or come within three Miles of it. *Thirdly*. That the Queen should not molest nor trouble any Inhabitant in the Town; but, having reposed herself three or four Days, should leave the Town as she found it.

HEREUPON the Congregation departed every Man to his House. The Queen was thankfully received into the Town, and liberally entertained by the chief Men thereof: But, within four Days, she, forgetting to keep Promise, called the *French-Men* into the Town; who spoiled and troubled the same. Then she called the Magistrates of the Town to underly the Law, for such Crimes as she had to lay to their Charge. She discharged also my Lord *Ruthven* from the Office of Provost, and gave the same to the Laird of *Kinfarns*, to whom she gave the Charge of certain Bands of Soldiers to keep the Town. She banished all the Congregation, especially *Patrick Murray* and his Brethren, and the Bailies of the Town, and returned to *Stirling*.

THE Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *James*, hearing that the Queen had broken her Promise, came both to *St. Andrews*, and joyned themselves to the Congregation; and, hearing that the Queen was come to *Falkland*, minding to come to *St. Andrews* against them, they sent Word through *Fife*, *Angus*, *Strathern*, *Merns* and *Buchan*, that all their faithful Brethren would come to their Support. Their Number increasing, they past to *Carale*, and destroyed all Images and Altars, and burnt the *Rood*. The next Day they came to *St. Andrews*, and reformed all the Kirks thereof, and destroyed all Monuments of Idolatry, and caused *John Knox* preach openly.

THE Bishop, being not able to hinder these Proceedings, stole out of the Town, and came to *Falkland* to the Queen, and informed her of all. She, being highly incensed, made Proclamation to all Manner of Men to follow her to *Cowpar* and *St. Andrews*; and commanded the Soldiers to be ready to march forward with her the next Day.

THE Congregation, hearing this, prevented the Time, and came that Night to *Cowpar*, being about three thousand Men. The Men of *Dundee*, *Strathern* and *Merns* met them, about a thousand Men. The next Morning they past forth to the Muir, thinking the Queen would come that Way. The Queen herself stayed at *Falkland*. Her Army, being two thousand *French-Men*, under the Command of *Monsieur d' Oysel*, with fix Shot of Artillery, and a thousand *Scottish-Men* commanded by

by the Duke of *Chattelroy*, marched to *Tarbat-Mill*, on the *South Hand* of the Congregation. There they stood at a Consultation.

IN the mean Time, *Patrick Learmont* Laird of *Darsay*, being Provost of *St. Andrews*, came to the Congregation with five hundred Men well armed. They, encouraged herewith, marched forward and stood in Battle-Array, over against the Enemy. The *French* seeing so great a Number, divided in five Companies, two of Horsemen, and the rest Footmen, and believing them to be more than indeed they were, sent a Post to *Falkland* to the Queen, to ask what was her Mind; for the Congregation were more in Number than they expected, and very resolute to fight it out.

THE Queen, hearing this, sent away the Earl *Marshal*, the Lord *Lindesay*, and the Laird of *Waughtoun* incontinent, to take up the Matter. The Earl *Marshal*, taken with Sicknefs, as he alledged, came no further than the *Sheel-Bridge*. The other two posted so fast, that they bursted their Horse before they came to the Congregation; whom they found in arrayed Battle, having chosen forth five hundred of their best Horsemen to prick, and stop the *French* from crossing the Water of *Edin*. Then they began to reason with the chief Men of them, shewing them, That it was great Rashness to them; who were Noblemen and chief Gentlemen of the Country, to hazard themselves in Battle against a Number of mercenary Soldiers, being Strangers. They answered, that they came only in Defence of themselves, their Friends and Religion, so grievously pursued by the *French-Men* and Bishops, whom they wished to return from whence they were come, and so they should depart in like Manner.

THEN my Lord *Lindesay* past to the Duke, where he stood, and said, *It is strange, my Lord, that you are so ill advised, as to come in Battle against your own dearest Friends and Kinsmen, for the Pleasure of your Enemies. Are not you young Lord of Scotland, and these your Kinsmen and Friends, who will assist you to their Power in your good Quarrel? Assure yourself, if you assist these Strangers against your own Friends, you shall hardly escape yourself; for they are more enraged against you, than against the French-Men, because you are induced to assist these Strangers against your own Country Men and dear Friends; and namely the Earl of Argyle your own Sister's Son; the Quarrel being the Propagation of Christ's Evangel, which you will never be able to binder. Be assured, my Lord, if once they shall get those Men cut off, whom you pursue to day, being your surest Friends, they will soon cut off yourself also. Since then the Matter stands so hard with you, I counsel you to obey God rather than Man.*

THE Duke shewing himself tractable, my Lord *Lindesay* desired him to stay still till he returned back to him. Then he posted to *Monsieur d' Ossel*, shewing that he and *Waughtoun* were sent by the Queen to take up the Matter betwixt the two Armies; and therefore discharged him, in the Queen's Name, to march any further till he had ended his Commission. Then he spake to *Monsieur d' Ossel, de la Chappel*, and *Charalous*,

*It is far against your Commission; (said he) who art sent by your Master the French King to defend the Realm against our Enemies of England, and to give our Queen-Regent profitable Counsel for Government of this Kingdom, that you are come forth in arrayed Battle yourselves, and some of the Nobility of Scotland stirred up by you to destroy the rest: So that thereby this Realm shall become an easy Prey to any Enemy. I am sure it is not the King of France's Will, that you spend his Men and Money in destroying the Nobility of Scotland; especially the Earl of Argyle, Lord James the Queen's Brother, with many other Noblemen standing on yonder Field, who are most willing to pleasure and serve the King of France, when he hath ado. I counsel you, in the Name of God, to go no further on against them; for they are determinate to do what they are able in Defence of the Protestants, and to stop you from entring into these Towns, especially seeing the Queen is not here in proper Person; neither would they suffer herself to enter thereinto, except with her ordinary Court and Train, all Soldiers being removed. Ye are Strangers, lose not the Hearts of Scottish-Men, neither procure the Nobility of Scotland to turn Enemies to the King of France, who are now his Friends; which if you do, you will get no Thanks at his Hands and his Council. Likewise, it is an old Scottish Proverb, I will suffer my Friend to need, but I cannot see him bleed. Think you then that my Lord Duke will suffer you to destroy his Friends and Kinsmen of the Congregation; especially the Earl of Argyle his Sister's Son? Beware lest, when you, having the Vanguard, shall joyn in Battle with the Congregation, the Duke's Friends and Followers, preferring their own Friends of the Congregation before Strangers, shall encounter you on your Backs, and cut you off. Besides, the Congregation are far more in Number than ye are, as you see, and know the Country and Strengths better than you. Finally, so far as I perceive, they blame you only, as by whose Counsel the Queen hath been moved to persecute them: And therefore they have resolved that you shall not escape their Hands alive. Beware therefore to lose the good Name which before you have purchased. Beware to lose the Hearts of the Nobility and Commons of Scotland, for the Pleasure of the Bishops. Beware to hazard yourself and Countrymen in so evident a Danger. Think not that a few French-Men of War shall be able to conquer Scotland. Use my Counsel therefore in Time, before it turn to worse.*

*Monsieur d' Offel, considering my Lord Lindefay's Words, thought them very probable; yet he rode up to the Top of Tarvat-Hill, and spied the Congregation and their Number; who had drawn up their Men in such Sort, that the Multitude seemed far greater. He perceived also the Duke's Followers settled a-back from the Vanguard a little; and some of them, under the Assurance, gone over to the Congregation.*

THESE Things made my Lord Lindefay's Words settle more deeply in his Heart: Wherefore he called on my Lord Lindefay, and referred the whole Matter to him and my Lord Duke. My Lord Lindefay, for the more Assurance, obtained the Reference under his Hand and my Lord Duke's, and returned back to the Congregation; and, after coming  
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to and fro, they concluded on these Articles. *First*. That the *French*, with their Artillery, should presently retire back to *Falkland*; and, the next Morning so soon as they might see, depart over the Ferry to *Lothian*, and no more return to *Fife*. *Secondly*. That the Queen should grant them free Liberty of Conscience, to serve God as they pleased. *Thirdly*. That the Queen should ride up and down *Fife* as she pleased, having no *French*-Men of War in her Company, save only her ordinary Court. *Fourthly*. This being done, within twenty four Hours they should disband their Army, and continue loyal Obedience to the Queen, according to their Duty.

THESE Articles were accorded upon, and subscribed by both Parties, far contrary to every Man's Expectation; who looked that it should not pass without a bloody Battle.

ALL Things being performed according to the foresaid Appointment, the Congregation, who were in *Cowpar*, were informed, the next Day, by Messengers from *Perth*, of the Oppression committed upon the Citizens thereof, by the new Provost the Laird of *Kinfawns*, and his Men of War: Wherefore they past immediately to *Perth*, besieged the Town; and, having taken it, they put out the Laird of *Kinfawns*, and restored the Office of Provost to the Lord *Ruthven*. The Earl of *Huntley* and my Lord *Erskine* had been sent to stay the Siege by the Queen: But they refused, and continued assaulting the Town, killing many of the Defendants, with the Loss of one only Man on their Side; and having demolished the rest of idolatrous Places, they reformed the Parish-Kirks; and having stayed there a Day or two, being advertised that the Queen-Regent was sending a Garison of *French* Soldiers to *Stirling*, the Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *James* hastened thither, and prevented them. Having reformed *Stirling*, the third Day thereafter they came to *Lithgow*, and reformed it.

THE Queen, hearing that they were coming to *Edinburgh*, fled, with her *French*-Men, to *Dumbar*. The Congregation reformed all the Kirks of *Edinburgh*, destroyed all Idolatry, and made the Gospel to be openly preached by *John Knox*, *John Willock*, *William Harlaw*. At this Time came from *England*, *Christopher Goodman*, a learned Preacher, long bred in *Geneva*. He stayed a long Time in the College of *St. Andrews*.

IN the Month of *July*, One thousand five hundred and fifty nine, Word came to *Scotland* of the Death of *Henry II.* King of *France*, being wounded in the Eye by the Splint of a Spear at a Turnament. The Queen-Regent was very sorry at these News, and feared to be expelled out of *Scotland* by the Congregation. On the other Part, the Congregation became altogether secure, as thinking to find no more Resistance.

THE Queen, informed hereof by secret Espyals, took Purpose to return to *Edinburgh*: But the Town and Congregation withstanding her, she retired to *Leith*, and fortified it very strongly, having Abundance

dance of Viſuals, many good Warriours, and the moſt Part of the Artillery of *Scotland*.

ABOUT this Time Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* cauſed reform all the Kirks of *England*, and overthrew all Idolatry which had been ſet up by Queen *Mary*, after the Death of King *Edward* VI.

WHILST the Skirmiſhing was hotteſt betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, about the twentieth of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Arran* eſcaped out of *France*, ( where his Life was ſought by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, becauſe he ſtood ſo conſtant for the Reformed Religion ) and came through *Flanders* and *England*, unknown to any before he came Home, whence he had been abſent fourteen Years. By his Perſwaſion the Duke his Father left the Queen-Regent, and joyned himſelf to the Congregation. The Earl of *Arran* alſo agreed his Father with the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Laird of *Reath*, the Laird of *Grange*, and many other Gentlemen whom his Father had forfeited.

THE Congregation cauſed proclaim, that all who would joyn with them ſhould compear at *Edinburgh* the fifteenth Day of *October*. At which Time aſſembled the Duke, his eldeſt Son the Earl of *Arran*, the Earl of *Glencairn*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Maſter of *Lindſay*, with all the Gentlemen of the Congregation, and the Boroughs, and beſieged *Leith* for the Space of a Month, but came not Speed. The Soldiers alſo began to mutiny for Want of Pay. Whereupon the Lords of the Congregation reſolved to coin all their Silver-Veſſel and Rings: But the coining Stamps being ſtoln away, they were conſtrained to ſend to their Friends in *Berwick*, Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Croſis*, to borrow a little Money to put of the preſent Neceſſity. The Queen, advertiſed hereof by her ſecret Eſpyals, ſent the Earl of *Bothwel* to lie in wait for the Laird of *Ormſtoun*, who was ſent for the ſame, and to intrap him in his Return; which he performed, wounded and took himſelf, and took the Money from him. The Earl of *Arran* and Lord *James Stuart*, advertiſed hereof, paſt haſtily out of *Edinburgh*, with the moſt Part of the Horſemen, to relieve the Laird of *Ormſtoun* out of his Hands. The Earl, knowing of their Coming, fled away before; wherefore they took his Caſtle of *Crichtoun*, and brought great Spoil out of it to *Edinburgh*: But finding *Leith* ſo ſtrongly fortified, and being loth to hazard themſelves againſt the *French*, they wrote Letters, ſubſcribed by all the Lords and Barons there preſent, unto *England* for Support; which was promiſed to them, and a Day prefixed when they ſhould come both by Sea and Land. So the Congregation deſerted *Edinburgh* and retired. The Queen immediately, with my Lord *Bothwel*, my Lord *Crichtoun*, and the *French*-Men, entred into *Edinburgh* again, and reſtored all the Altars and Images, and erected the Maſs in the Kirks, and blotted out the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Belief* and *Commandments*, which were patent upon the Kirk-Walls.

IN *September* following, the *French* marched forth of *Edinburgh*, and waſted and ſpoiled *Lithgow* and *Stirling*, and the Country thereabout; and

and came down the *North-Side of Forth*, and made great Destruction in *Kinghorn*, *Dysart* and *Weemyss*, and killed all the Bestial thereabout. They spoiled the Laird of *Grange's* House and Villages, and lyne blew up the House with Gun-Powder.

IN the mean Time, *La Bastie*, a *French* Captain, with fifty of his Company, came forth to spoil *Duniekeir*; which the Master of *Lindesay* and the Laird of *Craigball* perceiving, they, with their Followers, set upon him right manfully. *La Bastie*, having drawn his Men within the Ruins of an old House, long Time defended himself stoutly with a Halbert in his Hand. The Master of *Lindesay* encountering with him Hand to Hand, they fought a long Time very eagerly; at length the Master of *Lindesay* struck him on the Forehead with a Broad-Sword, and clave his Brain-Pan. Many of his Soldiers were killed, the rest were carried to *Dundee*. The Queen was very sorry for *La Bastie*, for he was a valorous and active Gentleman.

THE Congregation, at their Departure out of *Edinburgh*, had divided themselves in two Companies; the one to stay at *Glasgow*, the other at *Dysart* in *Fife*. These, and others who joyned with them, assembled at *Cowpar*, and stayed there eight Days to determine upon the Articles to be agreed upon betwixt them and their Friends who were at *Glasgow*, on the one Side, and the Queen of *England* on the other, for obtaining of her Support. Many of the Gentlemen of *Fife*, at this Time, were on the Queen's Faction, namely, *Weemyss*, *Balmuto*, *Balwery*, and the Abbot of *Dumfermling*.

UPON the twenty fourth of *January*, One thousand five hundred and sixty, the *English* Ships came into the Frith, and their Admiral, Mr. *Winter*, landed at *Aberdour*. They remained still in the Frith till the Land-Army came unto them.

THE *French*-Men, being at that Time in the *Weemyss*, were informed that they were *French* Ships sent for their Supply. Being encouraged with these News, they determined to go to *Cowpar*, and set upon the Congregation; and fell to Consultation, whether they should go thither the nearest Way, or go about by the Coast of *St. Andrews*, and from thence to *Cowpar*. They resolved upon the last, in respect that the Snow was so deep, that the Horsemen could not travel the nearest Way: But, when they were come to *Kincraig*, and descried them to be *English* Ships indeed, they became greatly afraid; and, leaving their Meat half-prepared, they hasted back, some to *Kinghorn*, some to *Dumfermling*: But the Laird of *Grange* slew many of them by the Way. The *English* Ships came up the Frith, and shot at the Castle of *Bruntisland*, and took it, with the Loss of sundry *French*-Men.

UPON the twenty sixth of *January*, diverse of the Congregation came from *Stirling*, and cutted the Bridge of *Tillibody*, to stop the *French*-Men from passing over. So they were constrained to stay all that

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Night

Night in *Fotbrig-Muir*, without either Meat or Drink; and many of them were killed before they could get the Bridge repaired.

AT the same Time, the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, Brother to the Duke of *Guise* and Queen-Regent, came from *France*, with eight Ships to support the Queen: But five of his Ships were broken with the Force of Tempest, himself beaten back with the other three, to the great Comfort of the Protestants.

UPON the thirtieth Day of *January*, the Queen directed Captain *Cullen* from *Leith*, with some Vessels furnished with Artillery and Soldiers, for Support of the *French-Men* who were in *Fife*: But he and his Ships were taken by the *English-Men*. Whereat the Queen took great Displeasure, and lay sick eight or nine Days.

NOT long after this, the Prior of *St. Andrews*, the Master of *Lindesay*, and the Laird of *Grange*, past to *Wester-Weemyss*, and took the Laird thereof; and also the Laids of *Seafeld*, *Montwharry*, *Balmuto* and *Balgony*, and carried some of them to *St. Andrews*, and kept them there.

UPON the fourth of *February*, the Gentlemen and Boroughs of *Fife*, who had taken Part with the Queen, came to *St. Andrews*, and subscribed with the Congregation. And, upon the seventh Day, the Prior, with the Lords and Gentlemen of the Congregation of *Fife*, past to *Glasgow*, and joyned with the Duke and his Son, consulting anent their Passing to meet with the *English Army*.

THE twelfth Day of *February*, the *English Ships* took two *French Ships* coming to support the Queen. There came also seventeen *English Ships* more from *Berwick*, and joyned with the rest. They kept *Inch-Keith* that none could furnish it.

UPON the seventeenth Day they took another Ship coming to support the Queen with Horse and Money, and had her to *Berwick*. The twenty second they took a great Ship, which the Queen had furnished to pass to *France* with Letters.

IN *March*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Prior of *St. Andrews*, and the Provost thereof, with the Laird of *Pittarro*, and forty Gentlemen, took Ship at *Pittenweem* in *Fife*, in an *English Ship* called *The Hound*, and sailed to *Berwick* to bring in the Land-Army, and to confirm the Band made betwixt them and the Congregation. They returned shortly to *Pittenweem* with ten Ships; and, upon the tenth of *March*, they, with my Lord *Arran*, my Lord *Lindesay*, and other of the Congregation, met at *St. Johnstown*; to whom the Earl of *Huntley*, with the Boroughs and Gentlemen of the *North*, came; and, after three Days Conference, joyned with the Congregation, and forsook the Queen.

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THE N the Lords of the Congregation and Gentlemen of *Fife* met at *Cowpar*, and concluded to pass and meet the *English* Army at *Haddingtown*. They sent forth Proclamations, That all Men should be at *Leith* the thirtieth of *March*, with thirty Days Victuals, under the Pains to be reputed as Partakers with the *French*, and Enemies to the Commonweal.

ABOUT this Time, the *French*-Men, hearing that the Duke was besieging *Castle-Semple* with a great Army, they rode to support my Lord *Semple*: But, the same Day that they came to *Glasgow*, he had taken the Castle. They stayed three Days in *Glasgow*, and did great Skaith: But the Congregation would not fight with them, nor hazard a Battle before they joyned with the *English*.

THE twenty eighth of *March*, the Lords and Gentlemen by-north *Forth*, having casten down the Abbey of *Dumfermling*, came to *Stirling*, but could not enter into it because of the *French*-Men; and therefore returned back to *Castle-Campbel*. But the next Day the *French*-Men departed to *Leith*; in the which Journey threescore of them were slain.

THE Lords, hearing of their Departure, came to *Stirling*; and from thence to *Lithgow*; where having met with the rest of the Congregation, on the first of *April*, they past to meet the *English* Army at *Haddingtown* and *Aberlady*, being about eight thousand Men. The same Day the Queen-Regent past to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

UPON the sixth of *April*, the *English*-Men skirmished with the *French*-Men at *Lestralrig*, and repulsed them back to the Town of *Leith* with great Slaughter.

THERE came also of *English*-Men, at sundry Times, with my Lord *Gray* and my Lord *Talbot*, the Number of twelve thousand Men, besides those who were in the Ships, which were thirty Sail.

UPON the thirteenth Day, *Leith* was inclosed about with the Siege, that no Man might pass in or out; and the Assault was made with twelve Canon, and twenty small Pieces.

UPON the fifteenth Day, the *French*-Men issued forth to the Trenches, where the *English* *White-Clokes* slew an hundred of them.

UPON the seventeenth Day, the *English* Ships came to the Pier of *Leith*, and shot amongst the *French*-Men, and killed forty of them.

UPON the twentieth Day, the principal Block-House of *Leith*, called *St. Anthony's* Kirk, was battered down; and also the High-Kirk, where the Vivers lay, with many Houses on the *East*-Side of the Town.

UPON the twenty eight Day, the *English*, giving the Alarm, assaulted *Leith*, and killed fourscore *French*-Men.

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UPON the thirtieth Day, they burnt the Mill of *Leith*, and brought away the Goods which were within the Fort.

UPON the third Day of *May*, the *English* Men and the Congregation entrenched beside *Bonytown*, beyond the Water of *Leith*, and condemned the Block-House beside the Mill of *Leith*, and also the Bridge.

UPON the eighth Day of *May*, the *English* and *Scots* assaulted *Leith* on the Night ; but the Ladders were too short ; so that they were repulsed with great Slaughter : Therefore the *English* Men sent to *Berwick* for more Men and longer Ladders, which came to the Camp the thirteenth of *May*, the Men being about five hundred.

UPON the twenty first Day, the *English* Ships, encountering with ten *French* Ships sent to the Supply of *Leith*, took four of them, and forced the rest to return Home.

UPON the twenty fifth Day, the *French* again issued out of *Leith* : But they were repulsed into the Town, and twenty four of their Men killed.

UPON the twenty eighth of *May*, a Parliament was proclaimed, till the tenth of *July* thereafter.

UPON the tenth Day of *June*, One thousand five hundred and sixty, the Queen-Regent departed this Life in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, being overtaken with extreme Melancholy, That the Nobility had risen up against her.

THERE had been diverse Treaties of Peace, by Means of the *French* and *English* Ambassadors ; but the *French* refused to give over the Town, unless they got Leave peaceably to transport Bag and Baggage. To which the Congregation would not assent. Then there came three hundred Men to the Camp from *England*.

THE twenty eighth of *June*, the *French* issuing out of *Leith*, their Colonel and many Men were slain, and the rest repulsed.

TO revenge this Repulse, upon the sixth of *July*, they issued forth again. The *English* and *Scots*, who were in their Trenches, perceiving them, rushed betwixt them and the Town, and slew eleven score of them. The Town escaped narrowly untaken.

UPON the tenth of *July*, the Peace betwixt the *Scots*, *English* and *French* was at length concluded and proclaimed. And, upon the thirteenth Day, the *French* shipped and departed Home, leaving the Town void.

THE Parliament began, upon the twentieth Day of *July*, at *Edinburgh*, and endured twenty Days. In the which the Religion Reformed  
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was established. All the rest of this Year there was great Peace and Quietness, and good Administration of Justice in the Country.

UPON the sixth of *December*, One thousand five hundred and sixty, *Francis II.* King of *France*, Husband to *Queen Mary*, (she being eighteen Years of Age, having remained twelve Years in *France*) departed this Life without Succession.

THE next Year, One thousand five hundred and sixty one, upon the twenty first of *August*, she returned to *Scotland*, and arrived at *Leith*, with two Gallies and four Ships; and was honourably received by her Lords and Subjects. She made her Entry into *Edinburgh* with exceeding great Magnificence.

UPON the seventeenth of *December*, she past out of *Edinburgh* to *Lithgow*; and from thence to *Stirling*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, and *Falkland*; and thereafter returned to *Edinburgh*.

IN *December* following, the whole Estates assembled at *Edinburgh*; where it was enacted, That all beneficed Persons should quit a third Part of their Living, to be assumed by the Queen for Augmentation of her Estate, and Maintenance of the Ministers of the Gospel. Thereafter the whole Kirkmen assembled with all their Assistants, the Earl of *Bothwell* being their Head; and dealt with the Queen to restore the Mass: But God disappointed them of their Intention.

UPON the first of *January*, the Queen past to *Seatoun*, and stayed there four Days; where Lord *John*, Prior of *Coldingham*, was married upon *Jean Hepburn* Sister to the Earl of *Bothwell*.

UPON the tenth of *February*, the Queen's other Brother, *James* Prior of *St. Andrews*, was made Earl of *Murray*, and married *Agnes Keith* Daughter to the Earl of *Marshall*, in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*. At which Solemnity nine Gentlemen of *Fife* were knighted.

UPON the fifteenth Day, there came an Ambassador from *Sweden* to the Queen, desiring Licence to the King of *Sweden* to come into this Realm. It is thought he expected to have the Queen in Marriage.

UPON the twenty eighth of *February*, he received his Answer and departed.

UPON the third Day of *March*, the Queen past from *Edinburgh* to *Dumfermling*, and from thence to *Dysart* and to *Dury*.

ON the sixth Day she came to *St. Andrews*, and stayed there a Space.

UPON the twenty first Day, she came to *Cowpar* and to *Falkland*; and syne returned to *St. Andrews*.

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IN the same Year of God, One thousand five hundred and sixty two, the Earl of *Bothwel*, with other Gentlemen, came to *Falkland*, thinking to seize upon the Queen's Person; or (as some say) to poison her: But the Matter being disclosed, they were imprisoned in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Gavin Hamilton* also was imprisoned, and so was the Earl of *Arran*, who was alledged to have disclosed the Conspiracy.

UPON the first of *April*, the Queen having returned to *St. Andrews*, the Duke sent a Letter to her Grace, humbly entreating that his Son, the Earl of *Bothwel*, and Mr. *Gavin Hamilton*, might be let forth upon Caution; which being refused, the Duke came to *St. Andrews* for the same Effect, but in vain. Thereafter the Queen caused charge him to render to her Grace the Castle of *Dumbartoun*, which he obeyed; and the Queen made a Servant of her own Captain of it.

ABOUT this Time, the Protestants of *France* destroyed the Images, and all the Monuments of Idolatry in *Rouan*, and other Towns; their Captain being the Prince of *Condy*. As they were advancing forward to *Paris* to do the like, the Papists, and the Duke of *Guise* their Captain, met them in the Fields. The Conflict was doubtful; but the Victory inclined to the Protestants.

IN *April*, the King of *Sweden*'s Brother came to *St. Andrews*, desiring the Marriage of our Queen to the King his Brother: But he got deferring Answers. After this the Queen past to *Lochleein*, and to *Edinburgh*.

IN the same Year, the Town of *Rouan* was besieged and taken by the *French* King, to the great Discontentment of the Protestants.

UPON the fifteenth Day of *May*, there came an Ambassador out of *Sweden* very well accompanied. He was honourably received, and got Presence at *Holy-rood-house*. The same Day my Lord *Fleming* was honourably married. The Ambassador departed the last of *May*. He received from the Queen a Chain worth a thousand Crowns.

UPON the twentieth of *May*, the Laird of *Letbington*, Secretary to the Queen, was sent to *England* for certain Affairs anent the Meeting of the two Queens.

THERE was, at this Time, in *Normandy*, a Battle betwixt the Papists and Protestants; in which great Slaughter was made on both Sides; and the Prince of *Condy* was taken.

THE tenth of *July* thereafter, the Papists and Protestants of *France* met together at the Town of *Orleans*; where great Slaughter was committed on both Sides, and specially on the shaven Sort. The Duke of *Guise* was killed by his own Servant, treasonably, by the Shot of a Dag; but the Murderer was severely punished to Death.

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THERE was an Appointment made for a Meeting of the two Queens at *York*; and the Queen had prepared herself to depart the twenty fourth Day of *July*, and the Nobility warned thereof; but Occasions hindred the same: For the Queen of *England* had sent ten thousand Men to *Newhaven* in *France*, for Support to the Protestants, the Earl of *Warwick* being their Lieutenant. The Queen of *Scotland* took Journey to the *North Land*, and came to *Aberdeen* the thirteenth of *August*. At which Time the Earl *Bothwell* brake Ward in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, escaping out of the Window by a Tow.

UPON the twentieth Day of *September*, the Queen made Proclamations through the *North Country*, that all Men should be at her in Fier of War: And this was, because the Laird of *Findlater*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, brake Ward in *Aberdeen*, and held all the Castles belonging to his Father and himself, and would not render them. The Earl of *Huntley* raised to the Number of a thousand Men. Lord *Robert*, the Queen's Brother, was sent to *Dundee* and *Edinburgh*; and shortly thereafter the Queen sent five hundred Light-Horlemen to *France*, in Support of the Protestants there.

THE twentieth of *September* the Castle of *Inverness* was taken, and the Captain thereof, called *Gordon*, was hanged. At this Time, *John Gordon*, Laird of *Findlater*, took certain of the Queen's Men of War in *Bamff*, and took their Weapons from them. The Earl of *Huntley* and he, being charged to compear before the Queen's Grace at *Aberdeen*, and refusing, were denounced to the Horn.

THE Earl of *Huntley*, with his Assistants, came forward to *Bamff* the twentieth of *October*, thinking to have taken the Queen at *Aberdeen*. The Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Mortoun*, and my Lord *Lindesay*, being in the Town, they, leaving the Queen in the Town, past to the Fields the twenty eight of *October*; and fought with the Earl of *Huntley* at a Place called *The Bank of Fair*, alias *Correichy*. There were slain to the Earl of *Huntley* two hundred; to the Queen sixscore; the Victory inclining to the Queen. And the Earl himself being killed in the Taking, his dead Body was brought to *Aberdeen*, and laid in the Tolbooth.

THE thirtieth of *October*, five Gentlemen of the Name of *Gordon* were hanged at *Aberdeen*; and, on the second Day of *November*, the Laird of *Findlater* beheaded. *Adam*, the youngest Brother, was spared; and the Duke commanded to keep my Lord *Gordon*, his Son-in-law, sure; and albeit thereafter he came to *St. Johnstoun* to interceed for him, yet he got no Answer which pleased him.

UPON the fourth of *November*, the Queen came from *Aberdeen* to *Dunnottar*; and from thence to *Bonningtoan*, *Arbroth* and *Dundee*.

SHORTLY thereafter the Earl of *Murray* came from the Queen to *St. Andrews*, because he would not consent to the Marriage of the Queen with the Lord *Darnley*. There was a Convention of the Nobility kept at

at *Stirling* anent the said Marriage ; and the most Part consented thereto.

IN the Month of *June*, One thousand five hundred and sixty four, the Queen sent for the Earl of *Murray* : But he was advertised, That if he came he would be put in Ward ; and therefore he absented himself.

ABOUT this Time, the Earl of *Roths*, with certain Gentlemen, came to *Parrat-Well*, beside *Dowhill*, thinking to have taken my Lord *Darnley* from the Queen, as they rode from *St. Johnstoun* to the *Queens-ferry* : But she being advertised, had past by before they met. In *July* next they were summoned to underly the Law.

AT this Time, there came an Ambassador from *England*, desiring that the Earl of *Lennox* and his Son should return into *England*, otherwise to lose all his Lands there ; but this was refused ; and my Lord *Darnley* was created Duke of *Rothsay*, and Earl of *Rofs*.

UPON the eighth of *July*, the Queen was married to my Lord *Darnley*, in the Abbey of *Holy-rood-house*, with great Pomp and Triumph ; the most Part of the Nobility being present, except the Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray* and *Roths*. They being charged by a Herauld to come to *Edinburgh* to the Queen, upon their Refusal, were put to the Horn. Proclamations were made, That all Men should meet the Queen at *Falkland* the thirteenth Day of *August*.

THIS same Year, the Lord *Gordon*, the Earls of *Bothwell* and *Sutherland* were restored to their Liberty and Estates.

THE twentieth Day of *August*, by open Proclamation at *Cowpar*, all Men that had been at the *Parrat-Well* were summoned to ward in *Dumbartoun* ; and the Earl of *Roths* put to the Horn. Thereafter the Queen went to *Glasgow*, having commanded, by open Proclamations, all Men to attend her in Fier of War, to resist the Lords that were at the Horn. From *Glasgow* she sent a Herauld to *Hamiltoun* to charge the Duke to render his House, under the Pain of Treason.

THE next Day, the Lords who were at the Horn came to *Edinburgh* ; but the Castle shot at them, and therefore they departed to *Dumfries* : But, hearing that the King and Queen were returned to *Edinburgh*, they came to *Glasgow*.

UPON the twelfth Day of *September*, the King and Queen made the Earl of *Lennox* Lieutenant of the *West* Parts ; and thereafter came to *Stirling*, *Fife* and *Dundee*, and put sundry Gentlemen of *Fife* and *Angus* in Ward, for assisting the Lords who were at the Horn.

THE Earl of *Bothwell* was now returned from *France*, and landed at *Coldingham* in a Pink ; and gave his Presence to the King and Queen,  
and

and was received in great Favour, and made Lieutenant-General of the Borders.

THE eight Day of *October*, the Queen received great Sums of Money from the Boroughs; and gave eleven thousand Merks for the Superiority of *Leith*.

THE tenth Day, the Earl of *Huntley* was proclaimed again the Earl of *Huntley*; and immediately the King and Queen, with the whole Body of the Realm, past out of *Edinburgh* to *Dumfries*, with certain carted Pieces. The Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray* and *Roths*, hearing of so great Power, fled into *England*. At *Dumfries* my Lord *Maxwell* met the King, and came in his Will, and rendred two of his special Castles to him.

ABOUT this Time, there came a great *English* Ship carrying twenty brasen Pieces of Ordnance. Some think that she came to receive the Lords that were at the Horn; others, That she attended the Earl of *Bothwell* in his Return from *France*, to have taken him. Justice Airls were proclaimed through all the Shires, for Punishment of all them that took Part with the rebellious Lords. And, in *December*, a Proclamation was made, to the twelfth Day thereof, to forfeit the Lords that were in *England*.

IN *January* following, there came an Ambassador from *France* to make the King Knight of the Cockle.

UPON the twenty second of *February*, the Earl of *Bothwell* was married on the Earl of *Huntley's* Sister. The King and Queen made the Banquet the first Day; which continued five Days, with Justing and Tournament. At which Solemnity were made six Knights of *Fife*.

UPON the eighth Day of *March*, the Queen rode in Parliament to the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*, with the Crown, Sword and Sceptre carried before her, by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Atbole*: But the King rode not that Day. In this Parliament the Restitution of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* was ratified.



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 ABBREVIATE  
 OF THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF  
 KING JAMES VI.



**CHARLES JAMES VI.** Son to *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darnley* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *Scotland*, was born in *Edinburgh* Castle the nineteenth Day of *June*, One thousand five hundred and sixty six Years; and, the eighteenth Day of *December*, in the Year foresaid, he was solemnly christened at *Stirling*; whose Godfathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; and the Queen of *England* was his Godmother, who gave a Font of Gold curiously wrought and enamelled, weighing three hundred and thirty three Ounces, amounting

amounting in Value to the Sum of a thousand four hundred and three Pounds, nineteen Shillings *Sterling* Money.

THE tenth of *February*, in the Morning, One thousand five hundred and sixty seven, *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*, and Husband to Queen *Mary*, was murdered shamefully in the Kirk of *Field*; the Revenge whereof remaineth in the Hands of Almighty God.

THE twenty second Day of the said Month, in the Year foresaid, Lady *Margaret Douglas*, lawful Daughter to the Earl of *Angus*, Sister-Daughter to King *Harry VIII*. Countess of *Lennox*, and Mother to the said Lord *Darnley*, was discharged out of the Tower of *London*.

THE twenty ninth Day of *July*, in the Year foresaid, *Charles James* the young Prince of *Scotland*, after a Sermon made by *John Knox*, was crowned King of *Scotland* at *Sterling*; where there were read certain Commissions, with the Queen of *Scotland*'s Seal at them, for establishing of the same. The first, for her Resignation of the Crown, and Government of the young Prince her Son. The second, to authorize the Earl of *Murray* to be Regent during his Minority. The third, to give Authority and Power to seven other joyning with the said Earl of *Murray*, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; *that is to say*, The Duke of *Chattelroy*, the Earls of *Lennox*, *Argyle*, *Arbole*, *Mortoun*, *Glencairn* and *Mar*. The Commission being ended, the Bishop of *Akelty*, with two Superintendants, proceeded to the Coronation. The Earl *Mortoun* and the Lord *Hume* took the Oath for the King, that he should rule in Faith, Fear and Love of God; and to maintain the Religion then preached in *Scotland*. He was then anointed, and had the Royal Robe put on him. He had the Crown upon his Head, the Sword by his Side, and the Sceptre in his Hand; to the Bringing to him of every one of which, Prayers were made in the *Scottish* Tongue, wherein the whole Ceremony was made and done.

THE Fields of *Tullie-Angus* and *Crabstane* was stricken between *Gordon* and *Forbes*, in the Year One thousand five hundred and seventy one Years.

IN the same Year was the Massacre of *France*, called *The Murther of Paris*.

IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and eighty one, the Earl of *Mortoun*, Regent of *Scotland*, was executed at *Edinburgh*.

IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and eighty three, the Earl of *Gowry*, Lord *Rathoen*, was execute at *Stirling*.

IN the Year thereafter was the Road of *Stirling*, and Banishment of the Lords; and the same Year was a great Pest in *Edinburgh*, and thereabout, where fifteen thousand Persons died.

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IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and eighty five Years, there was a great Storm of Snow in Harveft; and the fame Year was the Incoming of the banished Lords, called *The Road of Stirling*.

IN the Month of *May* thereafter, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* escaped out of Prifon, fled into *England*, and, the fixteenth Day of the faid Month after her Escape out of *Lochleven* where ſhe had been imprifoned, arrived at *Werlingtoun* in *England*, having in her Company a ſmall Number, where ſhe ſtayed; and Captain *Reid*, with fifty Soldiers, was appointed to attend on her, and convoy her to *Carliffe*, and from thence to *Beltoun-Caſtle*, belonging to the Lord *Scroop*, who, with Sir *Ralph Sadler* ſent down for the Purpoſe, had the Cuſtody of her till ſhe was committed to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

THE twenty ninth Day of *October*, One thousand five hundred and eighty ſeven, there was a Parliament holden at *Westminſter*, for trying of Matters concerning *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*.

THE fixth of *December* thereafter, in the Year foreſaid, the Lord Mayor of *London*, aſſiſted with diverſe Earls and Barons, the Aldermen of *London* in their Scarlet Robes, with their Officers, and greateſt Number of their beſt Account about the City, to the Number of fourſcore of the graveſt and moſt worſhipful Citizens, in Coats of Velvet and Chains of Gold, all on Horſeback, in moſt ſolemn and ſtately Manner, by Sound of four Trumpets about ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, made open and publick Proclamation and Declaration of the Sentence given lately by the Nobility againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date at *Richmond* the fourth of *December*, being openly read by Mr. *William Sebright* Town-Clerk of *London*, and with a loud Voice ſolemnly proclaimed by the Serjeant at Arms of the ſaid City, in diverſe Streets and Corners, and namely in the Palace of *Westminſter*, without *Temple-Bar*, and other Parts.

THE eighth Day of *February* thereafter, according to the Sentence lately given, *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, about ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, was execute, and ſuffered Death by beheading upon a Scaffold ſet up for that Purpoſe in the great Hall of *Fotbringhay*, in Preſence of *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Henry Gray* Earl of *Kent*, principal Commiſſioners, and other Gentlemen of the Country near adjoining, to the Number of three hundred Perſons; who was, as pertained to a Queen, royally buried in *Peterborough*.

ON the firſt Day of *Auguſt* next following, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and eighty eight, a Navy was ſent to the Seas againſt the *Spaniſh Armada*, who were in Number a hundred and fifty eight Sail.

IN the Year following was the Road of the Bridge of *Dee*; and the King's firſt Air in *Aberdeen*.

IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and ninety, King *James VI.* was married with *Anna of Denmark.*

IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and ninety two, the Earl of *Huntley* flew the Earl of *Murray* at *Dunibirsel.*

IN the same Year Prince *Henry Frederick* was born, the ninth Day of *February*; and the same Year, the eighteenth Day of *August*, there was a great Wind that shook the Corns; and, by Storms thereafter, ran sik Dearth, that the Meal gave eighteen Pounds the Boll.

IN the Year of God One thousand five hundred and ninety six, the Field of *Glenlevit* was stricken betwixt *Gordon* and *Campbel*, where *Gordon* was Victor; and, in the same Year, *Strabogy* and *Slanes* were casten down; and an Air holden in *Aberdeen.*

IN the Year following, the eighteenth Day of *December*, was an Up-roar in *Edinburgh* betwixt the King and the Kirk; and, the same Year, the Sun was eclipsed totally.

THE twenty fifth Day of *February*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and ninety eight Years, came an Ambassador from the King of *Denmark*, to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, with certain Commissions from the new King thereof; and to return the Garter that her Majesty had bestowed upon the King lately deceased, as the Manner of all foreign Princes is to do. He had Audience at the Court the seventh of *December*, in the Year foresaid, with certain Requests, which her Majesty answered, without Pains, to every Point of their Ambassage. Lastly. Having Audience, by Occasion, on her Majesty's Birth-Day, (as he was surely informed) he began an eloquent Oration, saying, *I doubt not but the King my Master shall, in this happy Day, have a happy Answer to his Requests.* Her Majesty answered, saying, *I blame you not to expect a reasonable Answer: But you may think it a great Miracle, how that a Child, born at four of the Clock this Morning, should be able to answer so wise and learned a Man as you are, sent from so great a Prince as you be, about so great and weighty Affairs as you speak of, in an unknown Tongue, by three of the Clock in the Afternoon.* And thus, with prudent and gracious Words, she ended, and gave him Leave to depart.

IN the Year of God One thousand six hundred and three, upon the twenty fourth Day of *March*, being *Thursday*, about two a-Clock in the Morning, deceased Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, at her Manour in *Richmond* in *Surrey*, she being then aged threescore and ten Years, and had reigned forty four Years, five Months and odd Days; whose Corps was privily conveyed to *Whitehall*, and there remained till the twenty eight of *April*, and was then buried at *Westminster.*

IT is not unworthy to be remembred, that *Thursday* hath been a fatal Day to King *Henry VIII.* and all his Posterity; for himself died upon *Thursday*

*Thursday* the twenty eighth of *January*; King *Edward* upon *Thursday* the sixth of *July*; Queen *Mary* on *Thursday* the seventeenth of *November*; and Queen *Elizabeth* upon *Thursday* the twenty fourth of *March*.

UPON the said twenty fourth Day of *March*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Realm of *England*, assisted with these of her late Majesty's Privy Council, assembled themselves together to take Order of the Publishing of the Queen's Departure; also her lawful Successor should be declared, to the Comfort of the Realm.

ABOUT ten of the Clock at Morn in the same Day, which, after the Account of the Church of *England*, is the last of the Year of Christ One thousand six hundred and two, having proclaimed King *James* at the Court-Gate, entred the City of *London* by *Ludgate*; where, finding *Robert Leelord* Mayor of *London*, Aldermen and Citizens, they, all together, with a Multitude of other good Subjects, rode to the Cross of *West-Cheap*; and, on the *West-Side* thereof, with Sounding of Trumpets, caused to be proclaimed King *James* of *Scotland*, the sixth of that Name in *Scotland*, and of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, the first, as lawful Heir, lineally descended from *Margaret* eldest Daughter to *Henry VII.* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, eldest Daughter to *Edward IV.* married to *James IV.* King of *Scotland*, in the Year of God One thousand five hundred and three, (a hundred Years and more since) who had Issue, King *James V.* Father to *Mary I.* Mother to *James VI.* now King of this whole Island, *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales*, with the Realms of *France* and *Ireland*. Sir *Robert Cecil*, principal Secretary, read the Proclamation; *William Dethick*, alias *Garter*, principal King at Arms, pronounced it with an audible Voice. From thence they rode into *Milk-Street*, to the House of *James Pemberton*, one of the Sheriffs of *London*; where they dined. And after that, in Council, this Morning being *Thursday*, was directed in Post Sir *Robert Curie* Knight, towards *Scotland*, to signify in *Scotland* what had been done in *England*; which he performed to the King at *Edinburgh*, upon *Saturday* at Night following, which was the twenty seventh of *March*, and the first News to the King of his Sister's Death.

THIS Charge was very plausible and well-pleasing to the whole Nobility, and generally to all Commons both of *Scotland* and *England*; among whom the Name of King was then so strange, as few could remember or had seen a King before, except they were aged Persons; considering that the Government of the Realm had continued near the Space of fifty Years under the Reign of two Queens, which is the greatest Part of a Man's Age.

BUT Tidings being brought hereof in *Scotland* to the King, he called a Council to him in taking Order for settling all Things in his Realm of *Scotland*; began his Voyage towards *England*, and did so much, that, after many Days Journey, and lodging in the Houses of sundry Noblemen, he arrived at *London* the seventh of *May*, One thousand six hundred and three;

three ; and he was lodged at the Charter-House, making many Knights by the Way as he came.

*James I.* Son to *Henry Stuart* and *Mary* late Queen of *Scotland*, born in *Edinburgh* Castle, began his Reign over the Realm of *England*, the twenty fourth of *March*, the last of the Year One thousand six hundred and two ; aged thirty six Years and better. He had reigned King of *Scotland* in Peace with almost all Christian Princes ; which Peace he also brought into *England*. God make us thankful, and grant him in that blessed Peace many Years to reign over us.

DIVERS Prisoners, touching the late Earl of *Essex*, were delivered out of the Tower of *London*, namely, the Earl of *Southampton*, on the tenth of *April*.

THE twenty seventh Day of the same Month, Proclamation was made for the Apprehension of *William* and *Patrick Rutbvens*, Brethren of the late Earl of *Gowry*.

THE twenty eight of *April*, the Corps of Queen *Elizabeth* entred in the Vault of her Grandfather *Henry VII.* in his most beautiful Chapel, most triumphantly ; where the reverend Father in God *Anthony Watson*, Bishop of *Chester*, made a learned Sermon. There were esteemed of Mourners in black, sixteen hundred Persons.

IN this mean Time, on the fifth of *April*, King *James* departed from *Edinburgh*, attended with Multitudes of his Nobility, Earls, Lords, Barons and Gentlemen of *Scotland* ; and some *French-Men*, as the *French* Ambassador being in *Scotland* ; besides, in his Train, many gallant and well-appointed Gentlemen, who all attended upon him that Day from *Edinburgh* to *Dunglafs*, a House of the Lord *Hume's*, where he reposed himself that Night.

THE sixth of *April*, his Majesty progressed from *Dunglafs* towards *Berwick*, having then attending upon him many more Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, besides the Lords Wardens of the Marches and Borders of *Scotland* and *England*, with several Companies to receive him. The Lord Governor of *Berwick* also, accompanied with the Council of War, the Constables with their Coronets of Horfes, and diverse Captains and Gentlemen of the Land-Pensioners, and others, advanced forward to meet, entertain and conduct his Majesty into the Town of *Berwick*. This seems a happy and strange Day, when, peaceably, so many *English* warlike Gentlemen went out to bring in an *English* and *Scottish* King, both included in one Person, into that Town, which, for many hundred Years, had been an Enemy, or held for the one Nation or the other : But the King of Peace hath so ordained it to be. Those Companies met him, and was graciously respected of his Highness : So, falling in among the other Troops, they set forward. And when his Highness came within Half a Mile of the Town, and began to take View thereof, from the Castle came such a Tempest, as it were Thunder. It was

was credibly reported, that a better Peal of Ordnance was never, in any Soldier's Memory, discharged in that Place. The King being come near to the Gates, the Smoke of Gun-Powder vanished; and issued out of the Town *William Selby* Gentleman, Porter of *Berwick*, with other Gentlemen of Account, and, humbling himself before the King, presented unto him the Keys of the Ports, who received them graciously; and, being entred betwixt the Gates, he restored the said *William Selby* the Keys again, and graced him with the Honour of Knighthood for his Service. This done, his Majesty entred the second Gate; and, being within both the Walls, he was received by the Captain of the Ward; and so passed through a double Guard of Soldiers well armed in all Points. Betwixt this Guard his Majesty passed on to the Market-Cross, where the Mayor and his Brother received him with no small Signs of Joy. But the common People omitted nothing their Power could attain unto, to express loyal Duty and hearty Affection, kneeling, shouting, and crying *God save King James*, till they were, in a Manner, intreated to be silent. Then Mr. *Christopher Parkinson*, the Recorder of *Berwick*, a Man grave and reverend, made a brave Speech to his Majesty, acknowledging him their sole and sovereign Lord; to whom, in the Town's Name, he surrendered their Charter; presenting his Highness also, from them, with a Purse of Gold; which, as an Offering of their Love, he graciously received: And for their Charter, he answered them, That it should be continued; and that he should maintain their Privileges, and uphold them and their Town in all Equity, by reason it was the principal and first Place honoured with his most gracious Person. From thence his Majesty past into the Church, to humble himself before the Exalter of the humble, and thank him for his Benefits bestowed upon him and his People. At which Time preached before him the reverend Father in God *Toby Matthew*, Bishop of *Durham*, who made a most learned Sermon; whilk finished, the King departed to his Palace; and then they gave him a Peal of great Ordnance more than before, never having King so rest within their Walls for many Years before.

THE next Day, being the seventh of *April*, his Majesty ascended the Walls; whereupon all the Cannoneers, and other Officers belonging to the great Ordnance, stood every one in his Place; the Captains with their Bands of Soldiers likewise under their Colours. Among which warlike Train, his Majesty, to shew an Instance how he loved and respected the Art military, he made a Shot himself out of the Cannon, so far, and with such Sign of Experience, that the most expert Gunners gave it just Commendation. After this he left that Part of the Wall, and being attended upon by his Nobility both of *Scotland* and *England*, the Lord *Henry Howard*, Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Cobham* being newly come to the Town, and guarded by the Gentlemen-Pensioners of *Berwick*, he bestowed that Day in surveying of the Fortifications, commending the military Order of the Town, and so returned to his Palace.

THE eighth of *April*, the Trumpets warned for the Remove; and all that Morning his Majesty, with Royal Liberality, bestowed, among the Garison Soldiers, and every Officer of War, according to his Place,

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rich and bountiful Rewards. After Dinner, his Majesty mounted on Horseback, and took Leave of *Berwick*, and proceeded into *England*; where he was received by *Nicolas Forester*, High-Chamberlain of *Northumberland*, accompanied with a Number of the Gentlemen of the Shire; who, riding before his Majesty, led the Way to *Witbringtoun*; where, by the Master of the Place *Sir Robert Carie* and his Lady, he was received with all Duty and Affection, the House being plentifully furnished for his Entertainment, &c.

THE ninth of *April*, he set forward to *Newcastle*, being sixteen Miles from *Witbringtoun*; where his Majesty was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, Council, and best Commoners of the same. In joyful Manner the Mayor presented him with the Sword and Keys, with humble Submission, giving to his Majesty also, in Token of Love and Loyalty, a Purse full of Gold. His Grace returned to the Mayor the Sword and Keys, ratifying all their Customs and Privileges that they were possessed of; and so was conducted to the Mayor's House, where he was richly entertained, and remained there three Days.

*Sunday*, being the tenth of *April*, his Majesty went to the Church, before whom preached the Bishop of *Durham*.

*Monday* he bestowed in viewing the Town, the Manner and Beauty thereof, Bridge and the Key, being one of the fairest in all the *North* Parts: Besides, he released all Prisoners, except for Treason and Papistry, giving Sums of Money for the Relief of many that lay for Debt. So joyful were the Townsmen of *Newcastle* of his Majesty being there, that they thankfully bore all the Charge of his Household, during the Time of his Abode with them.

THE thirteenth Day of *April*, his Majesty set forward towards *Durham*; and when he came near, the Magistrates of the Town met him, in behaving themselves as others before them. It was by his Highness also thankfully accepted; and passing through the Gates, when he entered the Market-gate, there was an Oration made to him; which being ended, he passed towards the Bishop's House, where he was royally received by the Bishop, attending him with a hundred Gentlemen in Town's Livery-Coats, &c.

THE fourteenth Day, his Majesty took Leave of the Bishop of *Durham*; whom he greatly graced and commended for his learned Humanity and Gravity, promising to restore diverse Things taken from the Bishoprick. His Majesty removed towards *Walworth*, sixteen Miles from *Durham*; where, by the Gentlewoman of the House, *Mrs. Jamieson*, he was bountifully entertained.

THE fifteenth Day of *April*, his Majesty set forward to *York*, his Train still increasing by the Number of Gentlemen from the *South* Parts, that came to offer him Fealty, whose Love he greatly treasured; yet did their Multitude so oppress the Country, and made Provision so dear, that



that he was fain to publish an Inhibition against the inordinate and daily Access of People coming, that many were stopt of their Way. The high Sheriff of *York-Shire*, very well accompanied, attended his Majesty to Mr. *Inglebee's*, beside *Top-Clift*, being about sixteen Miles from *Walworth*; who, with great Humility, received his Majesty; where he rested that Night.

THE sixteenth of *April*, his Majesty removed towards *York*, being sixteen Miles from *Top-Clift*; and when he came about some three Miles from *York*, (the Liberties of the City extending so far) Mr. *Buckie* and Mr. *Robertson*, Sheriffs of the City, met him, and, with humble Duty, presented him with their white Staves, which his Grace received and delivered them again; so they attended him towards the City. Within a Mile of which when his Highness approached, there met him the Lord *Burly*, Lord President of the *North*, with many worthy Knights and Gentlemen of the Shire. These also attended on his Person to *York*, where, when he came near without the City, there met him three of the Serjeants, Mr. *Wood*, Mr. *Damfort*, and Mr. *Westrope*, who delivered their Maces, which his Majesty delivered again, commanding them to wait on him; and, the same Time, the Serjeant-Trumpeter, and some others, did, in like Manner, submit themselves; whom, in like Manner, he commanded to wait on him. Then he rode till he came to one of the Gates of *York*, where the Lord Mayor of the City, the Aldermen and wealthiest Commoners, with Abundance of other People, met him there. A long Oration being made, the Lord Mayor delivered him the Sword and Keys, together with a Cup of Gold; which Present his Grace thankfully accepted, delivering the Keys again to my Lord Mayor: But about bearing of the Sword there was some Argument; the Lord President taking it for his Place, the Lord Mayor esteeming it to be his. But the King demanded the Sword, seeing they would not be pleased, that he should have the Disposition thereof; whereunto they humbly answered, it was all at his Pleasure. His Grace delivered the Sword to the Earl of *Cumberland*, who bore it before him from the Gate to the Minster; in which Way there was a Conduit that ran white Wine all Day; white Wine and Claret, every Man to drink as much as he list. From the Minster his Grace went on Foot, under a Canopy born by four Knights, to his own House, being the Manour of *St. Mary's*, where he was honourably received by the Lord *Burly*; who gave cheerful Entertainment to all his Followers, during the Time of his Continuance in *York*, &c.

THE seventeenth Day of *April*, being *Sunday*, the King went on Foot to the Minster to hear the Sermon, which was preached by Dr. *Thorborough*, Dean of *York* and Bishop of *Limrick* in *Ireland*; whose Doctrine and Method of Preaching was highly, by his Majesty, commended. The Sermon ended, the King returned on Foot, in the same Sort as he came, to his Manour; where he was royally feasted by the Lord *Burly*, during his Continuance in that Manour of *St. Mary's*. It is said to exceed all the rest in any Part of *England* before; Butteries, Pantries

Pantries and Cellars always held open, in great Abundance, in all Corners.

*Monday*, the eighteenth of *April*, his Majesty was feasted by my Lord Mayor of *York*; whom he knighted by the Name of *Sir Robert Walter*. After Dinner, his Majesty commanded all Prisoners to be set at Liberty, except Papists and wilful Murderers; and rode from *York* to *Grimstone*, being a House of *Sir Edward Stenbope's*, where he lay that Night, and dined the next Day.

THE nineteenth Day of *April*, his Grace rode to *Pomfret-Castle*; which when he had viewed, he rode to *Duncaster*, where he lodged at the Sign of the *Bear and the Sun*.

THE twentieth Day of *April*, his Majesty rode toward *Warsope*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* House; and, at *Battin*, the High-Sheriff of *York-Shire* took his Leave of the King, and Mr. *Askoth*, High-Sheriff of *Nottingham-Shire*, received him; and so conducted him till he came within a Mile of *Blyth*; where his Grace alighted, and sat down on a Bank-Side to eat and drink. After which short Repast he rode forward to *Warsope*; but, in the Park, he was somewhat stayed: For there appeared a Number of Huntsmen all in green; the chief of which, in a Wood-Man's Speech, did welcome him, offering to shew him some Game; which he gladly condescended to see, and with a Train he hunted a good Space, and went into the House; where he was so nobly and royally received, with Abundance of all Things, that still every Entertainment seemed to exceed other.

THE twenty first Day of *April*, his Grace took his Way toward *Newark* upon *Trent*, where that Night he lodged in the Castle; where the Aldermen presented him with a fair gilt Cup, which was kindly accepted. In this Town, and in the Court, was taken a Cut-Purse doing the Deed; and, being a base pilfering Thief, yet he was Gentleman-like in the Outside. This Fellow had good Store of Coin found about him; and, upon Examination, confessed that he had, from *Berwick* unto that Place, played the Cut-Purse in the Court. The King, hearing of this Gallant, directed a Warrant to the Recorder of *Newark* to have him hanged; which was accordingly execute; and all the rest of the Prisoners of the Castle pardoned.

THE twenty second Day of *April*, his Highness rode to *Beaver-Castle*, hunting all the Way as he rode. At *Beaver-Castle* his Highness was royally received by the Earl of *Rutland* and his Countess, and plentifully entertained.

THE twenty third Day of *April*, his Highness rode forward toward *Burly*, and, by the Way, dined at *Sir John Harington's*; where that worthy Knight made him most royal Entertainment. From thence he rode to *Burly*; where his Grace, with all his Train, was received with great Magnificence, the House seeming so rich, as if it had been furnished

nished at the Charges of an Emperor. The next Day, being *Easter-Day*, there preached before him the Bishop of *Lincoln*; and the Sermon was no sooner done, but all the Offices of the House were set open, that every Man might have free Access to Buttries, Pantries, Kitchens, to eat and drink at their Pleasure.

THE twenty seventh Day of *April*, his Highness removed toward *Hinchingbroke*, to Sir *Oliver Cromwel's*; and, by the Way, dined at Sir *Anthony Mildmay's*; where nothing wanted in a Subject's Duty to his Sovereign. Dinner and Banquet being past, and the King at Point to depart, Sir *Anthony* presented his Grace with a gallant *Barbary* Horse, and rich Saddle and Furniture suitable; which his Highness thankfully accepted, and rode toward Sir *Oliver Cromwel's*; and, about some half Mile ere he came there, his Majesty was met by the Bailie of *Huntington*, who made to him a long Oration, and there delivered him the Sword; which his Highness gave to the Earl of *Southampton* to bear before him to Sir *Oliver Cromwel's* House; where his Highness and his Followers, with all their Comers, had such Entertainment, as not the like had been seen before. There was such Plenty and Variety of Meats, and Diversity of Wines, and the Cellars open at every Man's Pleasure. There attended also, at Sir *Oliver Cromwel's*, the Heads of the University of *Cambridge*, all clad in Scarlet-Gowns and Corner-Caps; which having Presence of his Majesty, there was made an eloquent and learned Oration in *Latin*, welcoming his Majesty, and also entreating the Confirmation of their Privileges; which his Grace most willingly granted. Mr. *Cromwel* presented his Majesty with many rich and acceptable Gifts; as, a very great and fair wrought standing Cup of Gold, goodly Horses, deep-mouthed Hounds; diverse Hawks of excellent Wing; and, at the Remove, gave fifty Pounds *Sterling* Money among his Majesty's Officers.

THE twenty ninth Day of *April*, after Break-Fast, his Grace took Leave of Mr. *Oliver Cromwel* and of his Lady, late Wife to *Seignor Horatio Paulo Vicino*. From thence he departed to *Roystoun*; and, as he passed through *Gudman-Chester*, a Town close by *Huntington*, the Bailies of the Town, with their Brethren, met him, acknowledging their Allegiance, convoying him through the Town. There they presented him with threescore and ten Teem of Horses, all traced to fair new Ploughs, in Shew of their Husbandry; which while his Majesty, being very well delighted with the Sight thereof, demanded why they offered him so many Horses and Ploughs; he was answered, That it was their ancient Custom, whensoever any King of *England* passed through their Town, so to present him: Besides, they added, That they held their Lands by that Tenor, being the King's Tenants. His Majesty not only took well in Worth their good Minds, but bade them use well their Ploughs, being glad he was Land-Lord of so many good Husband-Men in one Town. In his Way toward *Roystoun*, the High-Sheriff of *Huntingtoun-Shire* took his Leave of his Grace, who was there received by Sir *Edward Deny* High-Sheriff of *Hertford-Shire*, attended on by a goodly Company, in Number sevenscore, suitably apparelled in blue Livery-Coats and white Doublets, and Hats with Feathers, all mounted on Horseback, with red  
M m m Saddles.

Saddles. Sir *Edward*, after his humble Duty, presented his Highness with a gallant Horse, and rich Saddle and Furniture correspondent, being of great Value; which his Highness accepted graciously, and caused him to ride on the said Horse before him. The Knight mounted quickly the said Horse; and, in brave Manner, conducted his Majesty to one Mr. *Chester's* House; where his Majesty lay that Night, on his own kingly Charges.

THE thirtieth Day of *April*, his Majesty rode to *Standown* to Sir *Thomas Sadler's*; and, by the Way, the Bishop of *London* met him, attended by a goodly Company of Gentlemen in tawny Coats and Chains of Gold. At Sir *Thomas Sadler's* his Majesty was royally entertained for himself and his kingly Train. There his Grace stayed *Sunday*, before whom the Bishop of *London* preached.

THE second Day of *May*, being *Monday*, his Majesty removed to *Broxburn*, a House of Sir *Henry Coke's* Cofferer to the late Queen *Elizabeth*, and now also Cofferer to his Majesty; where there met him the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Lord Admiral, with most Part of the Nobility of the Land and Council of Estate, who were favourably received. At which Time, the said Lord Keeper made a brief and learned Speech to his Majesty; to which his Majesty answered with great Grace and princely Wisdom. But to speak of his Grace's Entertainment at *Broxburn*, it was such, and so abundant, as there was no Man, of whatsoever Condition, but had what Appetite desired; his Majesty also receiving thereby great Contentment; and, continuing but one Night, departed the next Day, thanking the good Knight for his great Expences.

THE third Day of *May*, he came to *Theobalds*, a House belonging to Sir *Robert Cecil*. At this House there met his Majesty all, for the most Part, of the old Servants and Officers in Household of the late Queen; and with them the Guard of his Majesty's Body; all of them being courteously received to their own Content. Also, in his House of *Theobalds*, the fourth Day of *May*, his Majesty, with diverse Noblemen of *Scotland*, of his honourable Council, viz. The Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treasurer of *Scotland*, Sir *James Elphinstoun* Secretary to the King, the Lord of *Kinloss*, now Master of the Rolls, also the *English* Nobility; made of his Council, the Lord *Henry Howard* Brother to *James Howard* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Son to the said Duke, who was also made there Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Montjoy*, not then returned out of *Ireland*. His Grace stayed at *Theobalds* four Days, with Entertainment, such, and so costly, as hardly can be expressed, considering the Multitude that hither resorted, beside the Train, none going thence unsatisfied. The King made Knights there, as is said, twenty eight.

THE seventh Day of *May*, being *Saturday*, he removed from *Theobalds* toward *London*, riding through the Meadows; where, within two Miles on this Side *Waltham*, one of the Sheriffs of *London*, called *John Somerton*, and also Sheriff of *Middlesex*, met his Majesty with sixty Men  
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in Livery-Coats ; where an eloquent and learned Oration was made to his Highness, by *Richard Martin* Gentleman of the *Middle-Temple*. Besides these Men in Livery-Coats that attended the Sheriffs, all mounted on gallant Horses, most of the Sheriffs Officers attended upon him ; who conducted the King within some two Miles of *London* ; and, at *Stainforhill*, the Lord Mayor of *London* presented himself, with whom were the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and Chains of Gold about their Necks, with all chief Officers and Council of the City ; besides five hundred Citizens all very well mounted, clad in Velvet-Coats, and Chains of Gold, with the chief Gentlemen of the Hundreds, who made a good Show to entertain their Sovereign. There also met his Majesty all the Officers of Estate, as, Serjeants at Arms, with their rich Maces, the Heraulds in their Coats of Arms, and Trumpeters, every one in his due Place. The Duke of *Lennox*, bearing the Sword of Honour before his Majesty, passed over the Fields, and came in at the Back-Side of the Charter-House, where he was most royally received and entertained by the Lord *Thomas Howard*. He lay there four Nights, and, at his Departure, made about eighty Knights.

THE eleventh Day of *May*, his Grace rode in Coach somewhat closely from the Charter-House to *Whitehall* ; and from thence was conveyed by Water to the Tower of *London*, and there were attending on him the Lord *Zeuth* and the Lord *Burly*, ( sworn the said Day Privy Counsellors to his Majesty at the Charter-House ) the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Worcester*, the Lord *Howard*, and others. The first Day his Majesty viewed the Offices in the Tower, as, the Armory, the Wardrobe, the Artillery, &c. The next Day he saw the Ordnance-House, the Mint-House, and, at the last, the Lyons, &c.

THE twentieth Day of *May*, being *Friday*, his Grace made Barons and Knights, in the Tower, to the Number of twelve, or thereby.

THE seventeenth Day of *May* foresaid, Proclamation was made against Rovers in the Borders.

THE twenty second Day of *May*, his Grace knighted Sir *Robert Leelord* Mayor of *London*, and others. His Majesty was, that Day, most royally served ; and, at Night, diverse Fire-Works on the *Thames* were shewed for Triumph.

IN the Month of *June*, there came Ambassadors from the *Palsgrave* of *Rhine*, from the Estates of *Holland* and *Zeland*, from the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and from the *French* King.

THE second Day of *July* thereafter, the Feast of *St. George* was royally kept at *Windfor* by the King and Knights of the honourable Order of the Garter ; where the Prince, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Mar*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, were installed.

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THE twenty first Day of *July*, were created at *Hamptoun-Court*, in the great Hall, by the King's Majesty, under his Estate, and the Queen present, to the Number of thirteen or fourteen Earls and Barons.

*Friday*, the twenty second Day of *July*, the King and Queen removed to *Westminster*.

*Saturday*, the twenty third, the King dubbed Knights in his Garden, the Judges, Serjeants at Law, and many other, three or four hundred.

*Sunday*, the twenty fourth of *July*, were performed the Solemnity of the Knights of *The Bath*, riding honourably from *St. James's* to the Court, and made Show with their Squires and Pages about the Tilt-Yard; and after went to the Park of *St. James*, and there alighted all from their Horses, and went up to the King's Majesty's Presence in the Gallery, where they received the Order of the Knighthood of *The Bath*.

THE twenty fifth Day of *July*, being *Monday*, and the Feast of the blessed Apostle *St. James*, King *James of England*, the first of that Name, with the noble Lady Queen *Anne*, were together crowned and anointed at *Westminster*, by the reverend Father in God *John Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in Presence of the Nobility, and namely Sir *Robert Leelord* Lord Major of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson-Velvet, his Brethren, the Aldermen, in Gowns of Scarlet, and twelve principal Citizens admitted to attend on them. These, in the Morning early, entered in the Mayor's Barge at the *Three Cranes Stairs*, and were rowed to *Westminster*. All other Citizens stayed from passing thither, either by Water or by Land, as much as might be.

*Friday*, being the fifth of *August*, by Commandment from the Ordinary, was kept Holy-Day, with Prayers, Sermons and Bonfires, and all that Night all Men to praise God for the King's Escape from being murdered by a most wicked Traitor, the Earl of *Gowry*.

THE fourteenth Day of *August*, Sir *William Dethick Garter*, principal King at Arms, was sent to *Peterborough* in *Northampton-Shire*, with a rich Pale of Velvet, embroidered with the Arms of the mighty Princess *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, having Letters directed to the reverend Lord the Bishop of *Peterborough* in that Behalf; which Pale of Velvet embroidered was, by him, solemnly carried and laid upon and over the Corps of the said late Queen, assisted by many Knights and Gentlemen, and much People, at the Time of divine Service; and then the said Bishop preached a Sermon in that Behalf in the Morning, and made a great Feast at Dinner, and the Dean of the same preached in the Afternoon. The said Queen of *Scotland* was royally and sumptuously interred by the said *Garter*, on the first Day of *August*, One thousand five hundred and eighty seven.

UPON the sixth Day of *November* thereafter, the high and mighty Prince *Frederick* Duke of *Wortenberg*, who had been elected before to be  
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one of the Company of the most noble Order of the Garter, in the 25th Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ( which was the Day appointed for that Action ) the said Duke was invested ; the Robes, Garter, and other Ornaments of the said Order, and other Ceremonies were performed in the Cathedral Church of that City ; and all the rest of that Day was spent with great Feast and Triumph, very admirable to Beholders, &c.

THE fifteenth Day thereafter, King *James*, Queen *Anne* his Wife, and *Henry Frederick* the Prince, past triumphantly from the Tower of *London*, through his Royal City and Chamber of *London*, to *Westminster*. The Companies of the City, marshalled according to their Degrees, were placed ; the first beginning at the upper End of *Mark-Lane*, and the last reaching to the Conduit of *Fleet-Street*, or thereabouts, their Seats being doubled railed ; upon the upper Part whereof they leaned the Streamers, Ensigns and Banners of each particular Company, decently fixed ; and directly against them; quite through the Body of the City, so high as *Temple-Bar*, a single Rail, a far Distance from the other, was likewise erected to put off the Multitude. The King, richly mounted on a white Gennet, under a rich Canopy, sustained by eight Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber for the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, entred his Royal City of *London*, and passed the same toward *Westminster*, through seven Gates or Pageants : Of the which, the first was erected at the *East End* of *Fen-Church* ; over the which Gate was represented the true Likeness of the notable Houses, Towers and Steeples within the City of *London*. The second Gate, a most sumptuous Piece of Workmanship, was loftily raised in *Grace-Street* by the *Italians*. The third Gate, upon *Cornhill*, by the Exchange, representing the seventeen Provinces of *Belgia*, or the *Dutch Nation*; and, by them, raised close to *St. Mildred's Church*, in the Poultry, a Scoffold was erected ; where, at the City's Cost, to delight the Queen with her own Country Musick, nine Trumpets and a Kettle-Drum did actually sound the *Danish March*, &c. The fourth Gate, wherethrough his Grace past at Charges of the Citizens, was raised at *West-Cheap* at *Super-Lane* End, adjoining to the *East Front* of the great Cross. In the *Cheap* was erected a square low Gallery, some four Foot from the Ground, set round about with Pilley-Stairs, where stood the Aldermen, the Chamberlain, Town-Clerk, and Council of the City, and Sir *Henry Montague* Recorder of the City, who made to his Majesty a gratulatory Oration, as followeth.

*High Imperial Majesty, it is not a Year in Days, since, with Acclamations of the People, Citizens and Nobles, auspiciously here, at this Cross, was proclaimed your true Succession to the Crown. If then it was joyous, with Hands and Hearts lift up to Heaven, to cry King James; what is it now to see King James? Come therefore, O worthiest of Kings, as a glorious Bridegroom, through your Royal Chamber. But, to come nearer, adest quem querimus. Twenty and more are the Sovereigns we have served since our Conquest; but Conqueror of Hearts, it is you and your Posterity, that we have vowed to live, and wish to serve whilst London is a City. In Pledge whereof, my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen*

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and Commons of the City, wishing a golden Reign to you, presents your Grace with a little Cup of Gold, &c.

AT the End of the Oration, three Cups of Gold were given (in name of the Lord Mayor, and the haill Body of the City) to his Grace, the young Prince, and the Queen. From thence his Majesty past to the little Conduit at *Paul's-Gate*, where was placed the fifth Gate or Pageant, Arbour-like, and so called *The Arbour of Musick*. From thence he passed through *Paul's Church-Yard*; upon the lower Battlements of which Church, an Anthem was sung by the Quiristers of the Church, to the Musick of loud Instruments; which being finished, a little Oration was delivered by one of Mr. *Malcaster's* Scholars, at the Door of the Free-School, founded by Dr. *Collet*, sometime Dean of *Paul's Church*. The sixth Arch or Gate of Triumph was erected above the Conduit in *Fleet-Street*, whereon the Globe of the World was seen to move. At *Temple-Bar*, when his Grace was upon the Point of giving a gracious princely Farewel to the Lord Mayor and the City, a seventh Gate or Arch was erected; the Forefront whereof was proportioned in every Respect like a Temple, being dedicate to *James*. Lastly. The City of *Westminster* and Dutchy of *Lancaster* at *The Strand* had invented the Invention of a Rain-Bow; the Sun, Moon and Stars advanced betwixt two Pyramids; which Piece of Work was begun and ended in Twelve Days. Of all which Pageants and Devices, Speeches, and Songs declared in them, ye may read at Large, in a Book intituled, *The Magnificent Entertainment given to King James, upon the Day of his Triumphant Passage from the Tower, through his Honourable City of London, the 15th of March 1603.* by Thomas Decker.

THE Nineteenth Day of *August*, in the Afternoon, about Five of the Clock, a joyful Peace was proclaimed at the Crofs in *West-cheap*, to the Honour of God, and Tranquillity of these our united Kingdoms, with the High and Mighty Prince *Philip*, the Third of that Name, King of *Spain*, and *Albert and Isabel* Arch-dukes of *Austria*, and Dukes of *Burgundy*. *William Segar*, alias *Garter King at Arms*, read the Proclamation, being present, Eight or Ten Heralds, in their Coats of Arms; Serjeant Trumpeter, and other Eight Trumpeters sounding; and Sir *William Rhennie*, one of the Sheriffs of *London*, in Scarlet, all on Horseback, dated at *Whitehall* the Day and Year foresaid.

THE Twenty third Day of *October*, King *James* was, in most solemn Manner, at the great Crofs in *West-cheap*, proclaimed King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. Sir *Thomas Bennet*, Lord Mayor of *London*, his Brethren the Aldermen, in Scarlet, with Heralds and Trumpeters, all on Horseback, being present.

THE Fourth Day of *January*, Afternoon, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, a Child of some Four Years old, second Son to King *James*, now Prince of *Great Britain*, was created Duke of *York*, in the Hall where the King sat most Royally under the Cloath of State; at the whilk Time, the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bath followed; after them, the Lord



Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Suffolk*, in his Robes of Estate, going alone; then *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles Blunt* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after, the Earl of *Southampton* carried the Coronet; the Earl of *Cumberland* the Golden Rod; the Earl of *Worcester* the Cap of Estate; and the Earl of *Nottingham* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Arms, supported by the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Northumberland*; who, all coming in this Order before the King, the Duke of *Albany* was, after the Patent read, created Duke of *York*, the Robes and Coronet put on him, the Golden Rod delivered into his Hand; all which performed, they went to Dinner, the Duke of *York* and the Earl sitting at one Table in the upper End of the great Chamber, in the Robes of Estate; the Knights of the Bath, by themselves, at another Table on the Side of that Chamber.

THE Right Honourable, *Roger* Earl of *Rutland*, appointed by the King's Majesty to be Ambassador to his loving Brother *Christian IV.* King of *Denmark*, as well to solemnize, in his Behalf, the Christning of the King's Son, as also to present his Highness with the most noble Order of the Garter, took his Leave of the Court at *Greenwich*, on *Sunday* the 26th of *June* 1603 Years, and on *Monday* embarked himself at *Gravesend*, in his Majesty's Ship called *The Golden Lyon*, being worthily accompanied with Nine Knights, Twenty Squires, his Friends and Allies, besides about One hundred Gentlemen and Yeomen, his Servants and Followers. On *Tuesday* the Twenty eighth, his Lordship sailed at *Gravesend*. On *Wednesday*, at Night, we lost Sight of Land; and the Wind and Weather being favourable, on *Tuesday* Seven-night following, we arrived, and safely anchored within the *Sound* of *Denmark*. Upon *Thursday* his Lordship landed at *Elsmore*, and was visited and saluted from the King. On *Friday* he rested himself; and on *Saturday* took Journey to *Copenhagen*, where the King then was, with Seven score Wagons prepared for his Transportation; his Majesty also having sent Two very fine Coaches, and some Gentlemen, his Servants, to attend on him by the Way. His Lordship was met by *Ramellious*, and some other of the King's Council, who, by an Oration made in *Latin*, saluted his Lordship with most kindly Welcome, signifying, that it was the King's Pleasure, that himself and all his Train should be free of all Charge during their Abode in his Country; and to that End had so ordained, that in all the Towns and Villages where we passed, Wine and Beer, and all other Victuals were plentifully and freely offered unto all Men. This Oration was answered by Mr. *Nantoun*, a Learned Gentleman that attended my Lord for that Purpose. That Evening we came to *Copenhagen*. The Ambassador and his Brethren were lodged in the Court; and the Knights and Gentlemen in the Town. That Night the Earl was visited in his Lodging by some of the King's Council, and some Complements passed betwixt the King and the Ambassador, by Messages only. *Sunday*, in the Morning, being the Tenth of *July*, his Lordship was appointed to have Audience of the King; and thereupon, about the Hour of Nine, his Lordship set forth of his Lodging, with all his Attendants, in very good Order, and richly beeen. His Gentlemen of the better Sort had a Livery of Scarlet, and with Five or Six Silver Laces about; and the meaner

meaner Sort with as many Guards of White Sattin. The King's Majesty stood in an Half Pace, in a great Chamber, at the Side of a Square Table, placed under an Cloath of Estate of Crimson Velvet. He was apparelled in Black, for he then mourned for his Brother, which died at *Russia*. At my Lord's Approach he uncovered his Head, and descending the Half Pace, embraced my Lord with much Kindness. Then began Mr. *Nantoun* my Lord's Orator his Oration in *Latin*, which he performed with great Eloquence; and in handling the Parts of his Oration, he first presented the King of *Britain's* Letters of Credence, and Deputation for the Baptizing of the Child; and then the Commission for the Order of the Garter. All which the King of *Denmark* received and read, and, by some few Instructions given by his Majesty to *Ramellious* his Counsellor, *Ramellious* answered the Oration pointedly, with great Learning and Readiness. After the which, the King discoursed a while in the *Italian* Tongue with the Ambassador, taking Knowledge of the Knights and Gentlemen, who kissed his Highness Hand, and also proceeded to the Church to the Christning of the young Prince, in Manner following.

THE Streets of *Copenhagen*, through which his Royal Highness should pass, were set with certain Ensigns and Burghers, both of Shot and Pick. The King's Trumpeters rode foremost, sounding; then followed the Kettle-drums; then the King's Household Servants on Foot; after whom followed Fifty Gentlemen, all mounted on great Horses, apparelled in Black, who mourned as the King did; then came the Lord Ambassadors Attendants, followers and Servants, accompanied with divers *Danes* on Foot; the Bishop of *Bream*, with the Deputies of *Saxon Brunswick* and *Brandenburg*, accompanied each other; the King, the Lord Ambassador, and Duke *Ulrick* the King's Brother, rode all three together; the Queen Mother followed, invested in White Sattin above, in an Chariot of Crimson Velvet embroidered, and richly gilt, bearing the young Prince in her Arms; the Chariot was drawn with Six White Horses, sumptuously harnessed and plumed; and an Guard of *Swissers* suited in Red and Yellow Silk, bearing Light Torches thereabouts; after followed a spare Chariot of Purple, richly embroidered; and after it, divers Coaches of the Queen's Women, apparelled into White, like unto Nuns. Thus, with great Triumph and Rejoycing of the People, who were there in great Numbers, they entred our Lady Church of that Town, where the Baptizing was to be performed. The Chancel was hung with Crimson Velvet and Sattin figured, and round about beautified with the most fair Ladies, in great Abundance, all rich in Jewels, and Head Attires in Pearl, clofs dressed; but their Garments were black and plain: And truly, in my Judgment, both for Habit and Behaviour, they seemed to be the most modest Women in the World. In the Chancel were erected two Trevises, the one for Queen Mother and the Prince, the other for the King and the Ambassador. After divers Anthems and Hymns sung, and consoorted with eloquent Musick, in great Variety, a Bishop, assisted with a Deacon, in rich Vestments, standing before the Altar, began to read certain Prayers both in *Latin* and *Danish* Tongues; which performed, the Bishop came to the Font, and the Queen Mother, being led by the

the Ambassador and the Duke *Ulrick*, brought the Child in her Arms to the same ; and there she delivered the Child to be held by the Lord Ambassador, while she herself flipt back the Head Attire for the Baptism ; which the Bishop, after certain Prayers performed, by putting Water on the Infants Head, with the Sign of the Cross, saying, *Neame de Barne*, which was *Christian*, done, by the Lord Ambassador and other Deputies, at the Request of the King his Father. All which accomplished, the Queen Mother, with the Prince, retired unto her Trevis. The Bishop began a Sermon in *Latin* upon the Gospel for that Day ; which ended, the Trumpets sounded, and they royally retired as they came.

THAT Day the King made a solemn Feast to the Ambassador and the other Deputies, placing the King of *England's* Ambassador at the Table-End, at the Right-Hand of Queen-Mother ; himself sat on the right Side of the Table-End, and his Queen on the left. The Duke his Brother, the Bishop of *Bream*, and other Estates, were placed according to their Degrees ; and so were the *English* Knights and Gentlemen, as many as the Boards might contain. To be brief, it were superfluous to tell you of all the Superfluities that were used. It would make a Man sick to hear of their drinking Healths. Use hath brought it into Fashion, and Fashion hath made it a Habit, which it ill befits our Nation to imitate.

*Munday*, being the eleventh Day of *July*, the Lord Ambassador was entertained with the Sight of the King's Stable of Horse, and with the Arsenal or Store-House of the King's Munitions ; which truly, when it shall be performed, will be one of the most excellent Provisions in Christendom. There was but one Side of it built, the other lay in the Foundations. The Fabrication is of three Lofts ; the nethermost is Artillery upon Carriage, so neat and clean kept, that the Brass is as bright as Gold, and the Iron as black as Jet. The Bullets are built in Piles, according to their Bore ; and all Provision so ready and necessary, as it were not exprest with Words what it is in Form. So is the middle Store-House of Armour, Picks, Shots, Ensigns, Drums, and all martial Instruments : Also the uppermost Loft, with Powder, Cordage, and other Necessaries, plentifully stored.

*Tuesday*, the twelfth Day, was spent in seeing the King of *Denmark's* Ships, and other Compliments.

*Wednesday*, the thirteenth Day, my Lord Ambassador and his Attendants kissed the Queen's Hands and young Prince ; then took their Leave, and returned from *Copenhagen* to *Elfinore* ; and, by the Way, the King and Ambassador hunted.

*Thursday*, the thirteenth Day, the King received the Order of the Garter within the Castle of *Elfinore* ; which Service was performed by *William Segar Norrey* King at Arms ; unto whom the King gave a rich Suit of Apparel, and a Chain of Gold with his Mediagle hanging thereat. At the Investing of the King the Castle discharged fifty Cannons,  
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and the King of *England's* Ships, lying before the Castle, reported as many. Then, after Noon, the King went aboard in the *English* Ships, and had a Banquet prepared for him upon the upper Decks, which were hung with a Covering of Cloth of *Tissue*. Every Health reported six, eight, or ten Shot of great Ordnance: So that, during the King's Abode, the Ship discharged a hundred and fifty Shot.

THE Castle of *Elfinore* is a Quadrant, and one of the goodliest Fortifications in that Part of the World, both for Strength, and most curious Architecture, and was built by *Frederick* the King's Father. There are in the same many princely Lodgings, and especially one great Chamber. It is hanged with *Irish* Tapestry of fresh-coloured Silk, without Gold, wherein all the *Danish* Kings are expressed in antique Habits, according to their several Times, with their Arms and Inscriptions, containing all their Conquests and Victories. The Roof is of inlet Woods, and hung full of Branches of Brads for Lights.

*Friday*, the fifteenth Day, the King hunted; and, by the Way, shewed my Lord Ambassador certain Water-Mills (of his own Device) for the Forging, Hammering, and Boring of the Ordnance, both great and small. In the which Work, a dozen Men did, with great Ease, the Offices of three or fourscore. The Chase continued about two Hours; the Deer, being brought within Toyles, were killed with Musket-Shot, to the Number of eight or nine-score, the most Part Stags. After the which, the King feasted my Lord Ambassador in a Lodge, very royally.

*Saturday*, the sixteenth Day, in the Morning, six or eight of the King's Council repaired unto my Lord Ambassador's Lodging in the Castle; and there, in Presence of his Lords and his Attendants, made a solemn Protestation of the King's high Acceptation of those Favours and Honours, ~~which his loving Brother~~ the King of *England* had done unto him, promising all princely Requittal if it lay in his Power, yielding always great Thanks to the Ambassador for his long and painful Journey to do him Honour; and therewith presented him with a fair Chain, and a rich Jewel set with Diamonds, and his Picture also hanging thereat: Also sixteen other Chains were given to the Knights, and some of the Gentlemen, my Lord's Followers; and about ten of his Mediagles of Gold unto others.

THE Presents which the King of *England* sent to the King of *Denmark* were, a Collar of the Order, two very rich *Georges* set with Diamonds, and two Garters; and to the Queen-Mother, rich Carcanets, and other Jewels, estimate worth three or four thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

THAT Day, *Ramellious* invited both the King and Ambassador to dine with him, at his own House, near the Castle; and, in his Dining-Chamber, had erected a Cloth of Estate of Crimson-Sattin, figured with two Chairs and Cushions of the same; and, upon the Cloth of Estate, were set the Arms and Stiles of both the Kings, which before was not used, because the King received the Order in his Chamber, and not in his

his Chapel. The Chear was great, and my Lord Ambassador, being weary with these bachanal Entertainments, took his Leave of the King's Grace, intending, that Night, to lie aboard, for his more speedy Dispatch homeward. The King, by no Perswasion, could alter his Determination; and therefore, after many Embracements on either Part, with kissing the King's Hands, his Lordship departed, and was accompanied unto the Shore by his Majesty; where the Pinnace and the Long-Boat lay ready to convoy him aboard.

*Sunday* and *Monday* we were becalmed in the Sound; and on *Tuesday*, the nineteenth of *July*, we set Sail for *England*. Our Ship, saluting the Castle, was resaluted by the same; and the King, standing upon a Counterscarp that lay into the Sea, gave Fire unto a Cannon with his own Hand, for our last Farewel: And truly I must say thus much of him, That, for his Royal Person and princely Carriage, I hold him to be the goodliest King in Christendom.

*Saturday*, the thirtieth of *July*, after we had been thirteen Days at Sail, carried by contrary Winds, we arrived at *Scarborough-Road* in *York-Shire*.

THE eighth of *August* following, the Lord Ambassador came, with his Attendants, Followers and Servants, to *Hamptoun-Court*, where his Lordship, and the rest, kissed the King's Hand. Whom all I leave, for this present, to next Occasion, and the rest of all Matters my Author continues to speak further of, and rest.

F I N I S.

















